



Ireland and Pennsylvania: The Folk-Cultural Legacy

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Ireland and Pennsylvania: The Folk-Cultural Legacy

Don Yoder

Introduction

The legacy of Ireland in Pennsylvania's culture has been deep, pervasive, and lasting. Beginning before the American Revolution, in our colonial period with the massive Protestant Scotch-Irish migration from Ulster, which continued throughout the nineteenth century into the twentieth, joined in the nineteenth century by the even larger Catholic Irish migration from all over the island, the Irish component in Pennsylvania's population has always been a major culture-moulding element.¹

The influence of both the Protestant and Catholic emigration on Pennsylvania continues to this day, and involves manifold Irish contributions to Pennsylvania's rich ethnically-mixed culture on various levels. If I had set culture in general as my focus rather than

Note

This paper is an extended and annotated version of a lecture delivered at the Humanities Institute of Ireland, University College Dublin, on 29 September 2005. Professor Yoder also delivered Leacht Ui Dhuilearga/T/ze Delargy Lecture, on the subject 'The Folk-Cultural Influence of Ireland on Pennsylvania', in the UCD Delargy Centre for Irish Folklore and the National Folklore Collection, on 27 September 2005.

¹ For a concise summary of Pennsylvania's immigration history, see Don Yoder, 'The Middle Atlantic Region', in *Encyclopedia of American Social History*, (ed.), Mary Kupiec Cayton, Elliott J. Gorn 2nd, Peter W. Williams, (3 vols.), New York 1993, vol. 2, 945-60, with bibliography. For the Irish element in general in the United States, see Patrick J. Blessing, 'Irish', in *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*, (ed.), Stephen Thernstrom, Ann Orlov 2nd, Oscar Handlin, Cambridge, Mass., 1980, 524-45. For the Scotch-Irish, see Maldwyn A. Jones, 'Scotch-Irish', in *ibid.*, 895-908. There are numerous recent monographs on the Scotch-Irish and general Irish emigration that could be cited, but these basic articles with their bibliographies must suffice.

the folk-cultural legacy, I would have included materials on Irish contributions to Pennsylvania's literature; the army, navy, and American wars; the theatre with its large component of Irish comedians; printing, publishing, and journalism; music and the arts in general; and the world of Pennsylvania politics, studded as it is with colourful Irish governors, state legislators, congressmen, U.S. senators, urban mayors, and labour leaders.

The world of Pennsylvania religion, which I have included here, extends over both high-cultural and folk-cultural levels of society. The Pennsylvania religious map shows large building-blocks of Scotch-Irish Presbyterianism and other Irish Protestant groups, and, beginning in the eighteenth century, but increasing dramatically in the nineteenth, the spread in our towns and cities, the coal regions, and almost everywhere, of Irish Catholic settlements, with churches, parochial schools, monasteries, convents, and colleges and universities.

Before closing my introduction, I give you all a friendly warning - this is in many of its areas a personal essay. Much of the folkloric insights that I present - with their vocabulary, expressions, and bywords - are based on my own memories of growing up in Central Pennsylvania, in the Allegheny Mountain country, with farmer-folk aunts, uncles, and cousins, in several counties, whose everyday speech was folk speech and not, as prissy schoolmistresses considered it, 'incorrect English'.² Not all of these folkloric locutions can be traced to Ireland alone. Some came to Ireland from Scotland and also from various parts of England, and thence to the United States, while others may have originated elsewhere. In case my Pennsylvania materials presented here find resonance in Irish memories, I hope that my readers will send me evidence from their backgrounds in various parts of Ireland.

²For my own family and intellectual background, see especially 'Introduction' and 'The Discovery of Central Pennsylvania', in my book *Discovering American Folklife: Essays on Folk Culture and the Pennsylvania Dutch*, Mechaicsburg, Pennsylvania 2001, second revised edition, 1-20, and 185-97. For my academic career and intellectual bibliography, see the detailed interview by Kyle R. Weaver, 'Meet Don Yoder, Dean of Folklife Scholars, in *Pennsylvania Heritage* XXXII: 2, (Spring 2006), 6-15.



Plate 1: Don Yoder leading a graduate seminar in the UCD Delargy Centre for Irish Folklore and the National Folklore Collection 27 September 2005.

So, let us plunge in - to 'Ireland and Pennsylvania - The Folk-Cultural Legacy'. The paper will be divided into the following sections: (1) Names on the Map, (2) Irish Influences on Pennsylvania Religion, (3) Architecture, (4) Foods and Foodways, (5) Irish Influences on Pennsylvania Folk Speech, (6) Holidays (Customs of the Year), (7) The Irish and the Dutch, (8) 'The Accursed Mill', and, finally, Conclusion.

Names on the Map

Let us begin with the map of Pennsylvania (Plate 2). The eighteenth-century emigrants from Ireland, whether from Ulster (where the majority came from) or from the rest of Ireland, radically changed the map of Pennsylvania through their settlements and name-bestowal on towns, townships, valleys, and other localities. Pennsylvania has sixty-seven counties, all with local governments. One of them, Blair County, named after a family which emigrated

⁵ To give my readers some idea of the comparative size of Pennsylvania and Ireland, Pennsylvania has an area of approximately 45,000 square miles, Ireland 32,000, making the latter between two-thirds and three-fourths the size of Pennsylvania. For current maps, see *The Atlas of Pennsylvania*, (ed.), David J. Cuff, William J. Young, Edward K. Muller, Wilbur Zelinsky, and Ronald F. Avler, Philadelphia 1989.

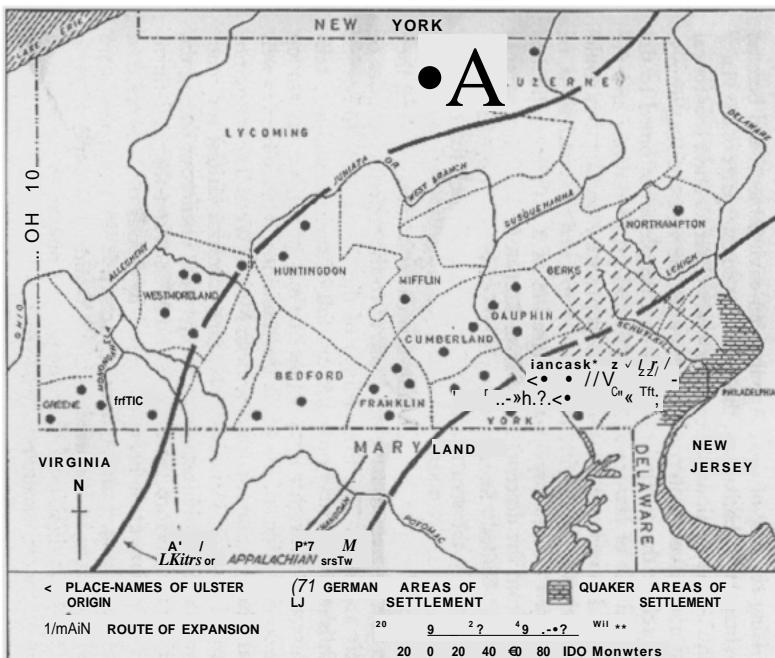


Plate 2: Scotch-Irish Settlement in Pennsylvania. (From: E. Estyn Evans, 'The Scotch-Irish: Their Cultural Adaptation and Heritage in the American Old West,' in E. R. R. Green, (ed.), Esjovs in *Scotch-Irish History*, London 1969, 69-86).

from Ireland, is a favourite of mine, since I was born there up in those high Allegheny Mountains, which I miss today living as I do in the flat lands near Philadelphia. But other Pennsylvania counties bear the names of other families who came from Ireland also, among them Fulton, Mercer, McKean, Sullivan, Cameron, Clinton, Jefferson and Pike?

⁴ My list of Irish-derived place-names on the Pennsylvania map is based on my own research. A minimal list is given in A. Howry Espenshade, *Pennsylvania Place Names*, State College, Pennsylvania, 1925. Further information on family names in Ireland can be found in: Robert E. Matheson's *Special Report on Surnames in Ireland Together with Varieties and Synonyms of Surnames and Christian Names*, Dublin 1901, reprinted by the Genealogical Publishing Company of Baltimore in 1968; Rev. Patrick Woulfe's *Sloinnte Gaedhal is Galli Irish Names and Surnames*, Dublin 1923, also reprinted by the Genealogical Publishing Company of Baltimore, in 1993. Basic also are: Edward McLysaght, */mh Families: Their Names, Arms and*

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Townships are political divisions of counties, with their own government officials, all of which are under the county government. Among the townships in Pennsylvania with Irish names are Limerick, Waterford, and Upper Dublin, as well as Donegal, Drumore, Letterkenny (I like the ring of that), Monaghan, Rapho, and Sligo for good measure, from the southern part of Ireland. And from Northern Ireland we have - Antrim, Armagh, Colerain, Derry, Londonderry, Fermanagh (a favourite of mine because one of my Swiss families, the Stauffers of Canton Bern, found a home there in 1812), Strabane, and Tyrone (several of them).

When we look for Irish-derived town names - originating in family and place-names from Ireland - on Pennsylvania's map, we find a bewildering list. To give a few examples, there are Carmichaels, Castle Shannon, Doylestown, Duncannon, Greencastle, Hollidaysburg (county-seat of my natal Blair County), Leechburg, Mahaffey, McAdoo, McConnellsburg, McKeesport, McSherrystown (site of an important colonial-period Catholic Church called Conewago - from the Indian name of the area), McAlevy's Fort (reminiscent of Indian raids in the eighteenth century), McGees Mills, Irishtown, Irish Grove, Irish Valley, and Munster in Cambria County - a Catholic stronghold despite the County's Welsh name - where there are other Catholic towns with names like Loretto (hardly Irish but certainly Catholic), and Gallitzin, named for a Russian prince with a noble German Catholic mother, who shed his title, came to the New World, and became the first Catholic priest to receive full ordination in America.⁵ He is

⁵ For Father Gallitzin, the apostle of Catholicism in Western Pennsylvania, see the biography 'Demetrius Augustine Gallitzin', in the new series *American National Biography* (hereafter: ANB), eds., John A. Garraty and Mark C. Carnes, Oxford/New York 1999, vol. VI, 80. (24 vols.).

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Origins, Dublin 1957, as well as his other books, *More Irish Families*, Galway and Dublin 1960, *A Guide to Irish Surnames*, Dublin 1964, and *Supplement to Irish Families*, also Dublin 1964. See also Robert Bell's *Book of Ulster Surnames*, Belfast 1988. For place-names see, for example: *General Alphabetical Index to the Townlands and Towns, Parishes, and Baronies of Ireland. Based on the Census of Ireland for the Year 1851*. Reprint, Genealogical Publishing Company, Baltimore 1984, and Samuel Lewis's *A Topographical Dictionary of Ireland*, London 1837.

remembered as the apostle of Catholicism in Western Pennsylvania.⁶

But my favourite Irish Catholic place-name in Pennsylvania is Newry, in my own Blair County, founded in 1793 by an Irish Catholic emigrant and veteran of our Revolution, named Patrick Cassidy.⁷ He laid out the town, and named it for his birthplace in County Down. And since most of his lot-purchasers were Protestant Pennsylvania Dutchmen, he generously and ecumenically donated land for a Lutheran Church. Only in America!

All of this place-naming among the hills and valleys of Pennsylvania shows how much our Irish (including Scotch-Irish) emigrants from the beautiful island of Ireland must have loved their Irish homeland.

Irish Influences on Pennsylvania Religion

The impress of Irish religious patterns on Pennsylvania is profound in two different periods. While the eighteenth-century emigration brought some Roman Catholics to our shores, the majority of the earlier Irish emigrants were Protestants, mostly Presbyterians, or as they pronounced it, 'Presbytairians', but with significant numbers of Anglicans (Church of Ireland), Quakers, and Methodists.⁸

⁶ For the history of Catholicism in Western Pennsylvania, see A. A. Lambing, *A History of the Catholic Church in the Dioceses of Pittsburgh and Allegheny from its Establishment to the Present Time*, New York and Pittsburgh 1880.

⁷ For Patrick Cassidy and the history of Newry, see J. Simpson Africa, *History of Huntingdon and Blair Counties, Pennsylvania*, Philadelphia 1883, 53-6 (Blair County section). Patrick Cassidy (1738-1827) is said to have come to America as the servant of a British Army officer in the 1750s. Following General Braddock's defeat in the Battle of Monongahela against the Indians in 1755, after retreat through Western Maryland, Patrick settled in Antietam, Maryland, and later, accompanied by other Irish Catholics - Shirley, Maguire and McGraw - he settled in Central Pennsylvania, in the area that would become Blair County in 1846. As surveyor he laid out the towns of Hollidaysburg, Williamsburg, and Newry. In his new town of Newry he founded St. Patrick's Catholic Church, one of Blair County's first Catholic congregations. For this information I am indebted to an old schoolmate of mine, Louis Leopold of Hollidaysburg, Pennsylvania, whose mother was a Cassidy and a direct descendant of Patrick Cassidy.

⁸ For the Scotch-Irish, see especially James G. Leybum, *The Scotch-Irish: A Social History*, Chapel Hill, N.C. 1962; R. J. Dickson, *Ulster Emigration to Colonial America, 1718-1775*, second edition, with a new introduction by Graeme Kirkham, Belfast 1988; H. Tyler Blethen and Curtis W. Wood Jr., (eds.), *Ulster and North America: Transatlantic Perspectives on the Scotch-Irish*, Tuscaloosa, Alabama 1997.

The Ulster Presbyterians settled many areas of Pennsylvania, founded congregations, built meeting-houses, sang “sams” (as they pronounced the word “Psalms”), distilled whiskey - very good whiskey!, staged Irish horse races, went into politics as soon as they left the sailing ships, and founded colleges - like Dickinson College at Carlisle (1783), our second oldest school of higher learning after the College of Philadelphia (1740), now the University of Pennsylvania.⁹

All of the manifold schismatic varieties of Scottish and Irish Presbyterianism, reflecting Covenanter and other backgrounds, were planted in Pennsylvania,¹⁰ and, in addition, new American denominations were founded on Presbyterian materials. One of these was the Disciples of Christ or Campbellites, founded by the father-and-son team from Ulster, Thomas and Alexander Campbell.¹¹ This new sect, founded in 1809, spread widely in the South and West. For their faith and practice Campbellites used only direct biblical commands, their motto being ‘Where the Scriptures speak we speak, where the Scriptures are silent, we are silent’. There was also, partially rooted in Pennsylvania Presbyterianism, the revivalistic sect called the Cumberland Presbyterians, who used non college-trained clergy, and became highly emotional in their worship, like the ‘Shouting Methodists’.¹² Hence they were

⁹ The Presbyterians founded more institutions of higher learning in the United States before the Civil War than any other denomination. See Donald G. Tewksbury, *The Founding of American Colleges and Universities Before the Civil War, With Particular Reference to the Religious Influences Bearing on the College Movement*, New York 1932.

¹⁰ For Presbyterianism in early Pennsylvania, see Guy Soulliard Klett, *Presbyterians in Colonial Pennsylvania*, Philadelphia 1937, and Wayland F. Dunaway, *The Scotch-Irish of Colonial Pennsylvania*, Chapel Hill, N.C. 1944.

¹¹ The founders of the Campbellites or Disciples of Christ were Thomas Campbell (1763-1854), a native of County Down (see ANB, vol. IV, 298-9), and his son, the great frontier debater Alexander Campbell (1788-1860), born in County Antrim (see ANB, vol. IV, 267-70). A basic history of the denomination and its relation to its Presbyterian roots is: Winfred E. Garrison and Alfred T. DeGroot, *The Disciples of Christ: A History*, Saint Louis 1948.

¹² The Cumberland Presbyterians are an excellent example of the adjustment of a rigid European organisation to the needs and exigencies of the American frontier, where non college-trained clergy often supplied the churches, and frontier

somewhat removed from the earlier Presbyterian rule of doing everything decently and in good order.

Strangely enough, the Ulster Presbyterians and their Scottish counterparts gave America the evangelistic institution called the ‘camp-meeting’, where sometimes thousands of people - seekers and scoffers alike - gathered in a clearing in the woods where an impromptu pulpit called a ‘brush arbour’ was erected for the preachers. These meetings sometimes lasted for days, the attendees sleeping in their wagons and later in tents. Hundreds were converted through the hell-fire preaching and lusty singing of spirituals to catchy folk tunes.¹³

This frontier institution, which began in 1800 in the Scotch-Irish settlements of Kentucky and spread into all corners of the nation, actually grew out of the Presbyterian ‘sacramental occasion’ in Scotland and Ireland, where crowds gathered in the open air on Saturday, in preparation for the holy rite of communion on the Sabbath. A student of mine, Marilyn Westerkamp, wrote a dissertation tracing this development from Ireland to Pennsylvania and America.¹⁴ Camp-meetings, now mostly Methodist, are still popular religious gatherings - a kind of farmers’ summer vacation when the summer harvests are over - and Pennsylvania still has plenty of them.

Irish Methodists - preachers and laymen - were also important in early America, so important that by 1840 the Methodist Episcopal Church (founded in Baltimore in 1784) had become the largest

¹³ For the history of the camp-meeting, see Charles A. Johnson, *The Frontier Camp Meeting - Religions Harvest Time*, Dallas, Texas 1955. For the camp-meeting in Pennsylvania, particularly among Methodists and the Pennsylvania Dutch churches and sects, see Don Yoder, *Pennsylvania Spirituals*, Lancaster, Pennsylvania 1961.

¹⁴ For the Presbyterian origins of the camp-meeting in Scotland and Ulster, see Marilyn Westerkamp, *Triumph of the Laity: Scots-Irish Piety and the Great Awakening, 1625-1760*, New York 1988. This is based on the doctoral dissertation of 1984 - the subtitle of which was *Migration of Revivalism from Scotland and Ireland to the Middle Colonies* – in the American Civilization Department of the University of Pennsylvania.

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emotionalism ran riot. For the influences of the frontier on American religion, see especially William Warren Sweet, *Revivalism in America: Its Origin, Growth and Decline*, New York 1944. For Presbyterian adjustments, see William Warren Sweet, *Religion on the American Frontier*, vol. 2, ‘The Presbyterians’, New York 1936.



Plate 3: Barbara Heck of the Rathkeale area of County Limerick, an Irish Palatine who co-founded the first Methodist church in New York City (1760). From *Harper a Weekly*. November 1. 1871

Protestant body in the country. Its first founders in America were Irish, like Philip Embury and Barbara Heck (Plate 3), the Irish Palatines from the Rathkeale area in County Limerick, who founded the first Methodist congregation in New York City, and Robert Strawbridge of County Leitrim who planted the faith in Maryland.¹⁵

In Pennsylvania Irish Methodists were plentiful too, including the Centre County Kinnears, who, according to local lore, brought to America a bed that John Wesley had slept in on one of his Irish itineraries. Among the pioneer Irish-American Methodist preachers was the three-hundred-pound Marmaduke Pearce (1776-1852),

¹⁵ Out of the vast literature on American Methodism, I recommend the three-volume work by Emory Stevens Bucke, (ed.), *History of American Methodism*. Nashville, Tennessee 1964. Of the nineteenth-century surveys, the most thorough is that of Abel Stevens's *History of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America** 4 vols., New York 1864-7, which gives full details of the Irish origins of American Methodism in New York City and Maryland.

who, when he was entertained for the night in a parishioner's cabin with dirt floors, usually sank further and further downward as the evening proceeded, until he had to pull the chair legs up and start again.¹⁶ Another memorable Irish-American Methodist clergyman, born in Ireland, was William Hunter (1811-1887), whose original hymns were sung widely in the nineteenth century and whose hymnbook compilations - *The Sweet Singer of Israel* (1837) and *The Minstrel of Zion* (1845) - were popular among America's evangelical Protestants. His two most popular hymn productions were 'My Heavenly Home is Bright and Fair', and 'Joyfully, Joyfully, Onward I Move.'¹⁷

The Irish Quakers

An extremely important component of the colonial population of Pennsylvania was made up of Irish Quakers. Dozens of Quaker families, farmers and craftsmen, emigrated from Ireland to Penn's woods in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and others came after 1800. They settled among the English and Welsh Quakers who were already there, and often lost their Irish identity through intermarriage. For this emigration and the social history and genealogy of the emigrant families in the New World, there is a comprehensive volume entitled *Immigration of the Irish Quakers into Pennsylvania*, by an old friend of mine, Albert Cook Myers (1874-1961), who, like myself, was Pennsylvania Dutch on one side

¹⁶ Pearce was remembered as an eloquent preacher and capable organiser, as Presiding Elder, of large denominational districts in Ontario, New York, and Pennsylvania. One of his sons became a member of Congress for a Pennsylvania district. For reminiscences of Pearce, see George Peck, *Early Methodism Within the Bounds of the Old Genesee Conference from 1788 to 1828; Or, The First Forty Years of Wesleyan Methodism in Northern Pennsylvania, Central and Western New York, and Canada*, New York 1860, 480-5. Pearce's ancestors came to Ireland with Cromwell in 1649, later settling in Enniskillen. His greatgrandfather with eight brothers fought for King William at the Battle of the Boyne. See also pp. 341-4 for a letter Pearce wrote in 1850 reminiscing on the difficulties of travelling in the ministry in the pioneer period. It contains the memorable lament, 'O the cold houses, the snow, the mud, the sage tea, the baked beans!'

¹⁷ For William Hunter (1811-1877), see Don Yoder, *Pennsylvania Spirituals*. 381-2. Emigrating from Ireland with his parents, he grew up in Pennsylvania, where he became a Methodist preacher, hymnist, and hymnal compiler.

of the house and Quaker on the other.¹⁸ The book was published in 1902, after long research visits to Dublin, where he abstracted the relevant Quaker wills, which were destroyed in 1922.¹⁹

Most Irish Quaker families appear to have been Anglo-Irish like William Edmundson (1627-1712), who was born in England and served in the army of Cromwell in the campaigns in England and Scotland. He later rejected war, joined the Quakers and moved to Ireland in 1652, settling first in Antrim and later in Queen's County where he died at Rosenallis near Mountmellick [in the present-day County Laois] in 1712. In 1654 he and other members of his family held the first regular meeting of the Quakers in Ireland, at Lurgan, County Armagh. His *Journal*, published in 1715 in both Dublin and London, is a fascinating account of his own spiritual pilgrimage and the early progress of Quakerism on Irish soil. His descriptions of the social conditions in mid-seventeenth century Ireland, and his accounts of the activities of the so-called Rapparees, make exciting reading. He had also joined George Fox on his missionary tour to America in 1671-1672, and members of his immediate family later emigrated to Pennsylvania.²⁰

¹⁸ Albert Cook Myers, *Immigration of the Irish Quakers into Pennsylvania 1682-1750 With Their Early History in Ireland*, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania 1902. On several memorable summer vacations that I spent in Adams County, Pennsylvania in the 1950s, visiting my Quaker cousin Donald F. Garretson in the historic Blackburn farmhouse built in the 1780s, Dr. Myers was also there revisiting the scenes of his childhood. The three of us made many excursions over the Quaker country of Adams and York Counties, visiting Quaker farms, meeting-houses, and burial grounds. We were always amused when we drove over what locals still call 'The Quaker Race Track', the ten-mile stretch between the Newberry and Warrington Meeting-houses. On this road in the old days the young Quaker blades on the way to meeting by horse and buggy, let out the reins to show their girl friends how fast their horses could go!

¹⁹ The Albert Cook Myers Collection is available for research at the Chester County Historical Society in West Chester, Pennsylvania, including all his Irish abstracts and notes. A one hundred-page inventory is available from the Society. The collection is especially rich in genealogical data on the Irish Quaker families who settled first in Chester County and later moved west, to York and Adams County, Pennsylvania, and elsewhere. Dr. Myers was a native of Adams County and himself a descendant of several key emigrant Irish Quaker families, including the McMillans and Hinshaws.

²⁰ Edmundson's *Journal*, including letters, was published in Dublin and London in 1715, second edition 1774. An early American edition, entitled 'Journal of the Life of that Worthy Elder and Faithful Servant of Jesus Christ, William Edmundson', was published in *The Friends' Library: Comprising Journals, Doctrinal Treatises, and*

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The converts to Quakerism in Ireland were largely Scottish families like the Blackburns, the McMillans, and the Carsons, the latter my own family's ancestry through the emigrant Patrick Carson (c. 1680-1755), who arrived in Pennsylvania in the 1720s.²¹ There was also among the Scottish Quakers in Ulster the distinguished James Logan (1674-1751), born at Lurgan, apprenticed as a youth to a draper in Dublin, who became William Penn's secretary and land agent, legislator, and Chief Justice of Pennsylvania. His vast collection of scholarly books, the Loganian Library, formed the basis for America's oldest scholarly library, the Library Company of Philadelphia, founded by Benjamin Franklin.²²

²¹ There is no evidence so far that Patrick Carson brought a certificate of removal from a Quaker meeting in Ireland when he arrived in Pennsylvania. He seems to have joined Friends in Pennsylvania, although his wife and children, who were devoted Quakers in Pennsylvania, may already have been Quakers. And I have not yet been able to locate his place of origin in Ireland. Quaker Carsons seem to have been concentrated in counties Fermanagh and Monaghan in Ireland. (Perhaps some of my readers can find Patrick's origins for me?). He was rather prominent among the first settlers of York County Pennsylvania, but he evidently had an Irish temper, since he was disciplined by his meeting for calling another Quaker a liar. His son Richard Carson was also disciplined for attending a wedding 'where there was fiddling and dancing', and in his acknowledgment he confessed that he neither 'fiddled nor danced' but he did 'hold a candle to the fiddler while he fiddled'. My family line from Patrick comes through his daughter Jane, who married John Garretson (1715-1797), a leading Friend in Central Pennsylvania, who was also the ancestor of the distinguished Quaker historian, Edwin B. Bronner (1920-2005), Librarian of Haverford College and prolific writer on Quaker historical subjects.

²² For the so-called Loganian Library, see Edwin Wolf, *James Logan, 1674-1751: Bookman Extraordinary*, Philadelphia 1971, and Edwin Wolf II, *The Library of James Logan of Philadelphia, 1674-1751*, Philadelphia, 1974. For concise biographical data with latest bibliography, see ANB, vol. XIII, 835-6.

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Other Writings of Members of the Religious Society of Friends, edited by William and Thomas Evans, Philadelphia 1838, vol. II, 84-183. Testimonies are included from (1) Ulster Quarterly Meeting; (2) Friends of Leinster Province; (3) Munster Province Meeting; (4) Mountmellick Monthly Meeting; and (5) George Rooke. The Munster tribute to Edmundson was signed by the historian Thomas Wight, and Joseph Pike at Waterford, the latter owner of the land in Pennsylvania that became Pikeland Township, Chester County. It is of interest to note that Edmundson's strong Puritan background led to his naming two of his children Hindrance and Tryall. (Seventeenth-century Puritan parents were notorious for bestowing biblical or symbolic names on their children. Further examples from America are: *Increase* Matner, *Preserved Fish*, and *Remember Lippincott*). For the most recent biographical sketch, see the article by Richard L. Greaves, 'William Edmundson (1627-1712)', in the *New Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, available on the Internet.

But, let us go back a bit. Quakerism, which was to have such a profound effect on Pennsylvania and other colonies in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century America, was, of course, an English movement founded by George Fox (1624- 1691).²³ One day in 1647, while on the summit of Pendle Hill in Lancashire looking down to the sea, George Fox had a vision of a 'gathered people'. The people that he gathered through his unceasing preaching itineraries in England, Scotland, Wales, Ireland, and America, (when he was not in prison for his faith!), he organised into the Society of Friends, called Quakers because they trembled as the Spirit moved them to speak out in public.²⁴

Fox, who was a self-educated countryman, had a brilliant, university-trained disciple named William Penn (1644-1718), who had studied at Oxford and at the Huguenot College in Saumur, France, and became the leading second-generation Quaker. He was a state-founder, organising Pennsylvania's government, and influencing the adjoining colonies of New Jersey and Delaware. Penn was one of the great English theorists of democracy, whose ideas on freedom of speech and freedom of religion pioneered in Europe and on American soil.²⁵

Actually, Penn was converted to Quakerism in Ireland, by Thomas Loe, in the Cork area where his father, Admiral Sir William Penn - mentioned so often in the Samuel Pepys Diaries - had

²³ On the history of Quakerism, in addition to the standard Rowntree Series of Quaker historiography by William C. Braithwaite and Rufus M Jones, I recommend Hugh Barbour, *The Quakers In Puritan England*, New Haven, Connecticut 1964. My choice for the most readable one-volume survey is Elbert Russell, *The History of Quakerism*, New York 1942.

²⁴ Fox's *Journal* is certainly one of the most exciting accounts of life and religion in seventeenth-century England, Wales, and Ireland. It was first published in 1694, with a lengthy Preface by William Penn, which was issued separately in 1694 in London as *A Brief Account of the Rise and Progress of the People Called Quakers*. It is useful for its concise presentation of Quaker principles and Penn's moving personal tribute to his close friend's charisma and spirituality. For facsimile title-pages and a digest of the book's contents, see *The Papers of William Penn, Volume Five: William Penn's Published Writings 1660-1726. An Interpretative Bibliography*, compiled and edited by Edwin B. Bronner and David Fraser, Philadelphia 1986, 413-16.

²⁵ There are many good biographies of William Penn, but my vote for the most readable of the twentieth-century examples is Catherine Owens Peare, *William Penn: A Biography*, Ann Arbor, Michigan 1966.

estates, which young William was sent over to manage.²⁶ Another connection with Ireland - Penn's mother was born in Ireland, with a Protestant background that had Holland Dutch connections. Pepys, who lived next door to the Penns in London, described Mevrouw Penn as a somewhat untidy housekeeper.²⁷ My mother would have said, 'She was a *clatty* housekeeper' - a word I heard my mother use frequently, since she was *not* clatty in *her* system of housekeeping.²⁸ At any rate, because of his unusual background, Penn evidently made use of French, Holland Dutch, and High German on his several missionary journeys to the Rhineland. The

²⁶ For Penn's first sojourn in Ireland, see 'In Ireland, 1666-1667', in *The Papers of William Penn*, vol. 1: 1644-1679, (ed.), Mary Maples Dunn and Richard S. Dunn, which includes numerous letters from his father, Sir William Penn. For the second sojourn, see William Penn, *My Irish Journal, 1669-1670*, edited by Isabel Grubb, with an 'Introduction' by Henry J. Cadbury, London 1952. And for comments on the influence of Penn's Irish connections on his colonising strategy in the New World, see Nicholas Canny, 'The Irish Background to Penn's Experiment', in *The World of William Penn*, 1, edited by Richard S. Dunn and Mary Maples Dunn, Philadelphia 1986, 139-56.

²⁷ I constantly use the Everyman Edition of *The Diary of Samuel Pepys, F.R.S. Secretary to the Admiralty in the Reigns of Charles II & James II* /..., 2 vols., London 1906. Reprint 1927. Pepys seems to have alternated his attitude to his naval office colleague, Sir William Penn, Comptroller of the Navy. Sometimes he reports attending banquets and the theatre with Penn, becoming 'merry' with him, at other times he refers to him as a 'base raskall', and by other slurs. He got along well with Lady Penn, although as I said, he was critical of her housekeeping. And in April 1666 he wrote, 'Mrs. Margaret Pen grows mighty homely, and looks old.' This is exactly the use of the word 'homely' that I remember from my childhood. It meant 'ugly in facial features.' We never used the word in such phrases as 'the homely virtues', for 'pleasantly domestic or *gemiitlich*'; such use was to us only literary.

²⁸ For 'clatty' as an English dialect word, see *Chambers's Scots Dictionary*, compiled by Alexander Warrack, Edinburgh 1911, (Reprint 1959), under 'clarty'. 'Clatty', meaning 'untidy, slovenly, careless at work', is cited by C. I. Macafee, *A Concise Ulster Dictionary*, Oxford 1996, 64. The best American source is the *Dictionary of American Regional English*, edited by Frederic G. Cassidy, Cambridge, Mass., vol. 1 (1985), 679, where under 'clatty' are listed the meanings, 'cluttered, messed up, slovenly, confused', and attributed to Scots, Irish, and North English dialect. The word 'clatty' with the meaning 'slovenly', 'dirty', is included in *A Dictionary of Hiberno-English* by Terence P. Dolan, Dublin 1998. It was noted for the north-east of Ireland - a region of Scottish influence - in the late nineteenth century, where the expression: 'You weren't both clatty and longsome at that', meaning that though you were quick about it, you did it badly and dirtily, was recorded. See, in this connection, William Hugh Patterson, *A Glossary of Words in Use in the Counties of Antrim and Down*, London 1880. Cf. also Dutch 'klaf', meaning 'blot', splash of dirt'.

principal one of these was in 1677, when he met with religious leaders, Pietist nobility, and many groups of persecuted and disadvantaged seekers after the Truth, whom he later invited to come to America.²⁹

A few examples of Irish Quaker emigrant families, and where they were from in Ireland, will be of interest here. From Dublin came the Milhous family, ancestors of the ill-fated president Richard Milhous Nixon, and the Sandwiths, memorialised in the novel *Hecla Sandwith*, by Edward Uffington Valentine, a descendant. From Carlow Meeting in County Carlow there came the Starrs, who founded Phoenixville (see below, 'The Accursed Mill'); the Parkes, who founded Parkesburg; the Coateses, whose name is perpetuated in Coatesville; and the Valentines, who made iron and built railways in Central Pennsylvania. From Grange Meeting in County Armagh came the Hinshaws, who produced William Wade Hinshaw, compiler of the six-volume *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy* (Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1936-50); and the Whineries, whose scion, 'Poet Joseph' Whinery, wrote doleful ballads that were printed as broadsides and sung in frontier Ohio.³⁰

From Ballyhagen Meeting, also County Armagh, came the Blackburns and the Delaps; and from Castleshane in County Monaghan, the widespread Wrights, who founded both Wrightstown in Bucks County, and Wrightsville in York County, Pennsylvania. From Queens County came the Pirns, whose descendant Thomas Pirn Cope (1768-1854) became a shipping magnate in

²⁹ For Penn's visit to the Rhineland in 1677, see *An Account of W. Penn's Travails in Holland and Germany, Anno MDCLXXVII* London 1694. My grandfather Cronister had a nineteenth-century edition of this book, so important for the later emigration to Pennsylvania, which I have used in my research and study.

³⁰ Joseph Whinery, who moved from York County, Pennsylvania, to Ohio in 1813, composed a lengthy Quaker elegy, 'The Death of Caleb Perkins', published in broadside form at Wilmington, Ohio, in 1816. The elegy tells the sad story of a hunting expedition that ended in tragedy in 1809, when Caleb Perkins was eighteen. The hunting party left at dawn for the woods, and their excited hounds treed a raccoon. Unable to shoot it where it was, they decided to cut the tree down. In doing so a branch fell on Caleb, crushing him. However, he lingered on 'for near eleven months' amid racking pain 'beneath affliction's rod', and he finally died. See Don Yoder, *The Pennsylvania German Broadside. A History and Guide*, University Park, Pennsylvania 2005, 265, published by the Pennsylvania State University Press for the Library Company of Philadelphia and the Pennsylvania German Society.

Philadelphia.³¹ From County Tipperary came the Pennocks, among whose many descendants was Rebecca Pennock Lukens (1794-1854) (Plate 4), who, after her husband's death, capably managed the family's steel mill, now the internationally-spread Lukens Steel Mill at Coatesville³² (Plate 5). And from County Wicklow came the Penroses, memorable for U.S Senator Boies Penrose (1860-1921). There are others that could be cited, like the Farquhars, who in the nineteenth century, based at York, Pennsylvania, produced steam engines that operated in many states of the union. It is obvious that most of these surnames are Anglo-Irish.

There were among the emigrant families a few 'Me' names - McMillan, McGrew, McClum, McNabb, McNice, and McCool - some of whom may have been Scottish in origin. Another Quaker family with a distinctively Irish name, that came over to Pennsylvania, was the O'Mooneys, from Ballinacree Meeting, County Kilkenny, and settled at Sadsbury, Lancaster County.³³

A final example of an Irish Quaker in Pennsylvania, this one a Philadelphian converted from Catholicism, was Hugh Judge (1750-1834). His widowed mother 'was exceedingly opposed to his religious scruples, and leaving the Catholic Church. At length, however, she became better reconciled to his change; and after he came forth in the ministry, she attended a Friends' meeting in Philadelphia, where Hughey appeared, in testimony' (Plate 6).

³¹ See *Philadelphia Merchant: The Diary of Thomas P. Cope 1800-1851*, edited and with an 'Introduction' and 'Appendices' by Eliza Cope Harrison, South Bend, Indiana 1978.

³² For the biography of Rebecca Pennock Lukens, see ANB, XIV, 116; also Robert W. Wolcott, *A Woman in Steel - Rebecca Lukens (1794-1854)*, New York 1940. It is rumoured that some of her 'plain' Quaker associates considered her Quaker dress somewhat untidy, but then how could a woman run a steel mill and look neat all the time?

³³ Myers, *op. cit.*, 1902, Chap. 4, 'Racial Origin of the Friends of Ireland', 32-7, divides the families into (1) The Celtic Irish, (2) The Scotch-Irish, and (3) The Anglo-Irish. A letter of 1898 to Dr. Myers from the Dublin Quaker archivist John Bewley Beale, states, 'There were additions from the pure Irish stock to the Society, but much fewer in number than from the Protestant settlers and their descendants. We have some Irish names amongst us still, such as Murphy, Macquillan, etc.' (p. 34). Dr. Myers was of the opinion that these accessions to Quakerism from the Catholic population came for the most part after 1750.



Plate 4: Rebecca Pennock Lukens (1794-1854), descendant of Christopher Pennock, after her husband's death managed the Lukens Steel Mill at Coatesville, Pennsylvania. This mill is still in operation. Note her regulation Quaker costume. (Roughwood Collection).

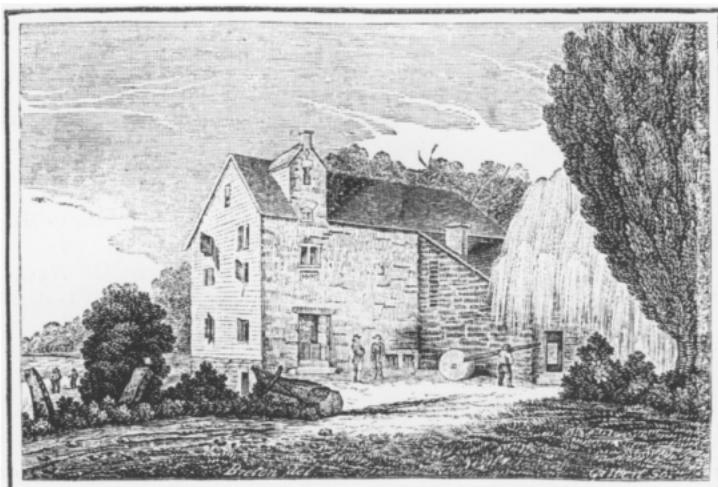


Plate 5: Pennock's Mill on the Pennepack Creek. Christopher Pennock, Irish Quaker from County Tipperary, founded the influential Pennock clan in America, (Roughwood Collection).

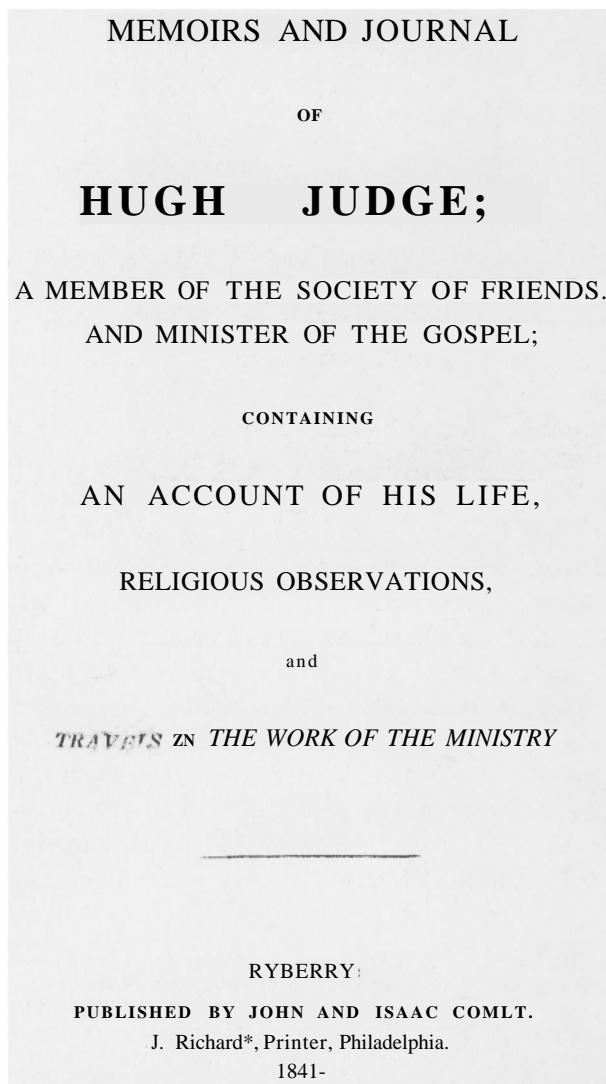


Plate 6: Hugh Judge (1750-1834), beloved Quaker minister who travelled widely over the United States. He was the Philadelphia-born son of Irish Catholic emigrant parents, (Roughwood Collection).

And at his home that afternoon, ‘she drew her chair near to him, and, turning her head to one side, looked him full in the face, addressing him in these words: “Hughey, dear, I was afraid for you today; indeed I was. You know you had no education at all, for that business. But I thought you made out very well, indeed I did, Hughey”.

Hugh Judge married into the Hatton-Lightfoot family, also Irish Quakers, and became a miller by trade. He was a beloved minister in American Quakerism, and a close friend of Elias Hicks (1748-1830), whose name was perpetuated in the Hicksite or liberal branch of nineteenth-century Quakerism. He travelled widely in the ministry, to New England, the Southern States, the Midwest, and Canada.³⁴

The Quaker influence on Pennsylvania and America was strong in the earlier period. They opposed slavery, treated men and women as equals (they were the first modern Christian group to allow women to preach), and they believed that all the races of mankind are equal. In folk culture they gave America the plain Quaker meeting-house, a pattern of ecclesiastical architecture copied by the Pennsylvania Dutch plain sects - the Mennonites, Brethren, and others. They also gave us some sectarian speech patterns. My mother’s Quaker grandmother used to interlace her sentences with ‘said she’, or ‘said he’,³⁵ and she liked the old-fashioned word - *fare-thee-well*. In addressing other people, Quakers normally used the Midlands English dialect word ‘thee’ in the nominative case, as in the sentence, ‘How is thee today?’ although some in writing dignified this into the biblical ‘thou’, with ‘art’. Even today some

³⁴ *Memoirs and Journal of Hugh Judge, A Member of the Society of Friends, and Minister of the Gospel; Containing an Account of His Life, Religious Observations, and Travels in the Work of the Ministry*, Byberry, Pennsylvania 1841 (Plate 6). It is curious that Dr. Myers does not mention Hugh Judge, although he does include some materials on the Lightfoot family, but none on the Hatton connections of Susan Judge, Hugh’s wife.

³⁵ An anonymous critic of Dr. Witherspoon’s letters on ‘Americanisms’, writing in the *Pennsylvania Journal* for June 30, 1781, speaks of ‘an impropriety which occurs very often in conversation; I mean the frequent repetition of “says I, says he, and says she”’ See Mitford McLeod Mathews, (ed.), *The Beginnings of American English: Essays and Comments*, Chicago 1963, 38.

American Quakers continue this peculiar Quakerese usage out of affection or sentiment.

The Catholic Irish

The massive Irish emigration of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries strengthened the Roman Catholic Church not only in Pennsylvania, but in all states of the union.³⁶ Irish clergy swelled the ranks of the priesthood, Irish bishops the hierarchy, and Irish laymen filled the churches, sometimes along with Germans and other ethnic groups, until the establishment of the so-called ‘national parishes’ devoted to ethnic Catholicism.

The Catholic Irish, many of them small farmers in the old country, eventually adjusted to urban life in America, forming Irish neighbourhoods in the cities with Irish pubs, social clubs, beneficial associations, and churches and schools.

In the nineteenth century the ‘raw’ emigrants - as newcomers were called - supplied much of the muscle that built America’s canals and railroads, providing unskilled and skilled labour, that contributed to the economic life of the new homeland. In the building trades, many moved up the social scale and became contractors. In the Philadelphia suburbs others served acceptably as grooms and maids on the estates of the wealthy ‘Main Line’ [of the Pennsylvania Railroad] Philadelphia elite.

In education, the Catholic parochial school system was set up by nineteenth-century bishops. And, today, the Philadelphia area has, among others, a Cardinal Dougherty High School, an Archbishop Ryan High School, and a Bishop McDevitt High School, along with one devoted to Don Bosco, and others honouring non-Irish ethnic leadership.

³⁶ For bibliography on the Irish Catholic emigration, see note 1. The most useful single-volume general history of religion in America for adequate coverage of American Catholicism, with pertinent bibliography, is Sydney E. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People*, New Haven, Connecticut 1972. Longer and more detailed articles on American Catholicism can be found in the *Encyclopedia of the American Religious Experience: Studies of Traditions and Movements*, edited by Charles H. Lippy and Peter W. Williams, 3 vols., New York 1988. This work is equally useful for historical summaries of all the religious denominations and movements mentioned in the present article.

Catholic institutions of higher learning in the Philadelphia area alone include Villanova (1842), founded by Irish Augustinians, St. Joseph's, Lasalle, Cabrini, Rosemont, Immaculata, Chestnut Hill, Neumann, and Holy Family. Scattered throughout the state, especially in the Scranton metropolitan area and in Western Pennsylvania, are additional Catholic foundations, including St. Francis at Loretto, University of Scranton, Seton Hall University, Greensburg, Pennsylvania, and Duquesne University in Pittsburgh. In Western Pennsylvania, the Irish were joined by German Benedictines from Bavaria who founded breweries as well as monasteries. Here, too, the planned Catholic settlement of St. Mary's, up amid the forests of Elk County, was founded in 1842, and its Catholic institutions have spread widely through Northwestern Pennsylvania.³⁷

The folk-cultural influence of the Catholic Irish element gave Philadelphia and other cities some of its working-class English accent, as well as the 'Coalcracker' accent of the Anthracite Region in Northeastern Pennsylvania (see the section on folk speech).

Certain Irish terms are registered in general Pennsylvania speech as well. All Pennsylvanians are familiar with the term 'Irish potatoes', still called that by many of us, and some of us enjoy 'Irish Stew', 'Mulligan Stew', 'Irish soda bread', and other specialities. I personally first heard of 'corned beef and cabbage' when I was a boy reading every Sunday the delightful Irish-American comic strip called 'Maggie and Jiggs' which rivalled the German-American strip 'The Katzenjammer Kids'. In addition there was a weekly cartoon about 'Major Hoople' and his boarding house of odd characters, and I always suspected the Major of being Irish. In more recent years television programmes have brought Irish-American comedians like the inimitable Jackie Gleason and his sidekick Art Carney to the fore.

³⁷ For the strong nineteenth-century German Benedictine component in Pennsylvania Catholicism, especially in Western Pennsylvania, see Don Yoder, 'Bayern und die Nordamerikanische Kultur', in the recent exhibit catalogue, *Good Bye Bayern - Gruss Gott America: Auswanderung aus Bayern nach Amerika seit 1683*, (ed.), Margot Hamm, Michael Henker, and Evamaria Brockhoff, Augsburg, Germany 2004, 77-84.

These latter examples represent pop culture rather than folk culture, and to close this section on the vast influence of America's Catholic Irish immigrants of the nineteenth century, I wish to enlighten my readers on the Irish influence on the popular broadside song production of Philadelphia. In the 1860s (our 'Civil War' era) and for several decades more, enterprising Philadelphia printers issued by the thousands cheap broadside ballads and songs with Irish themes.³⁸

A sampling of Philadelphia Irish song broadsides can be presented here. Some were imported from Ireland, others, like 'The Corkers', were composed here. 'The Corkers' was by Jack Williams and sung to the tune 'Oh Susanna'; it contains references to Philadelphia-area locations (Cherry Hill, the Alms House, and Moyamensing Prison) (Plate 7). 'Paddy's Land!' was 'sung by James McWilliams, the popular Irish Comic Vocalist, with great success' (Plate 8). Another local product was 'Up Comes McGinty', by 'Peter Peppercorn' and copyrighted 1889. Others bore the evocative titles of 'Muldoon the Solid Man' (Plate 9) 'O'Donnell, the Avenger', and 'There Never was a Coward where the Shamrock Grows' (Plate 10). Two songs with insights into the emigration and its causes, and the memories of Ireland and the longing to return are: 'Poor Pat Must Emigrate' (Plate 11), and 'Steer My Bark to Erin's Isle' (Plate 12). Finally, there is 'Paddy is the Boy' (that's fond of a glass!) (Plate 13), 'The Brisk Irish Lad', and, not unexpectedly, 'Saint Patrick was a Gentleman'.

Finally, among the eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Irish emigrants, Protestant and Catholic, there was a colourful procession of Irish pedagogues, whose personal habits, accents, and disciplinary techniques were often commented on by local

³⁸ For a facsimile selection of Philadelphia song broadsides from the presses of Auner, Boyd, Kehr, and Zieber, see Don Yoder, 'Pennsylvania Broadsides: I', in *Pennsylvania Folklife* XVI (Winter 1966-7), 14-21. For the active twentieth-century song tradition among Pennsylvania miners, with many Irish-American performers represented, complete with song texts and recorded tunes, see the two volumes by George Korson, *Minstrels of the Mine Patch: Songs and Stories of the Anthracite Industry*, Philadelphia 1938, and *Coal Dust on the Fiddle*, Philadelphia 1943.

THE CORKERS.

BY JACK WILLIAMS.

AIR — 'A *Susanna*.'

The Corkers are a crowd of men, who loaf about the town,
Whose boarding bills are running up, and funds are running down;
When work aim very plenty, all their friends will disappear,
So they dine upon a pretzel, and a glass of lager beer.

Oh Corkers be cautious, for Cherry Hilt ta near,
And some may lake their lodgings there, before another year.

A Corkers known quite easy, by the shabby suit he wears,
The nap is wearing off his coat, but not a bit he cares;
If to a tavern you should go, you'll see a Corker there,
He's either drinking with a chum, or dosing in a chair.

Oh Corkers be cautious, &c.

Sum**Corkers they are honest chaps, but others are not bo.
They'll hang around an angei, when they know he's got the *dongh*;
They lead him in (he lionS den, where he is bound to treat,
And they won't leave him go, until they bleed him clean and neat.
Oh Corkers be cautious, &c.

When young men get a lazy fit, they look so sour and cross,
They'll leave their work, and soon commence to quarrel wtihlhe boss;
To reason they'll not listen, lhe're determined to resist,
And very soon you'll find lheir names upon the Corkers' list.

Oh Corkers be cautious, &c.

The Corkers are quite numerous, you can see them in each street,
And when they see a crony, they will ask him for to treat,
They always keep lheir eyes about, and see you from afar,
They either beg tobacco,or willask for asegar.

Oh Corkers be cautious, &c.

When their clothes are too seedy, in public to appear.
They'll enlist in the navy, and for foreign ports they steer,
But if lheir Fpirriis leave them, and they find there is on hope,
They find their way lo prison, or dangle by a rope.

Oh Corkers be canuous, &c.

In the Engine or Hose house, the Corker you will find,
But when here is a run at night, he likes to stay beind.
Although he's sleeping in the bunks, it is his heart's delight,
But he does not approve of running toa fire at night.

Oh Corkers be cautious, Sic.

Take warning then, ye gay young chaps, don't loaf upon the town,
For if you are a Corker once, your futnls will soon run down;
While the alma house is handy, and Moyarneasing near,
Where yoo will be cnfnirod. without your pretzel or your beer.
Oh Corkers be cautious, &c.

T - M. ScFoggy, Publisher, 443 Vine st. below 13th.
Where all the new songs can be obtained, wholesale & retail.

**A. W. AUNER, SONG PUBLISHER & PRINTER,
Tenth and Race Sts., Philadelphia, Pa.**

PADDY'S LAND!

**Rung by JAMES McWILLIAMR, the popular Irish Comic Vocal iat,
with great success.**

Oh, I've lately come to town, and for Ireland I am bound,
Many happy days I've spent there long ago;
Oh, I traveled fur and near but there is not r spot so dear,
As the place where the little shamrock grows.

Oh that land, oh that land, oh that land, boys, away,
Paddy's land, then cheer tip for Erin's Isle, and the girl
I left behind, for I am bound for poor old Ireland right away.
Cheer up for Erin's home, for that is the land I own,
Oh I am bound for poor old Ireland right away.

O, (he land of Erin's home I am proud to call my own,
Though for years amidst its valleys I have not been ;
Oh, (here's not a spot on earth, full of humor, wit and mirth,
Like the dear little isle across the sea.

Oh that land, oh that land, Ac.

**May the beam of freedom shine and the sprig of peace entwine
Around the shamrock that was planted long ago,
By the great and mighty man, for she was the first of lands.
That land where the blessed shamrock grows.**

Oh that land, oh that land,

There is the rakish boys of Mallow, and the Wexford so yellow,
And the boys from Tipperary light and free ;
With shillaleh they let fly, and for Ireland fight and die ;
Oh sweet gnimre, you are rev gramtnachree.

Oh that land, oh that land, Ac.

A. W. AUNER, SONG PUBLISHER & PRINTER,
Tenth and Race Sts., Philadelphia, Pa.

MULDOON

THE SOLID MAN

I am a man of great influence,
And educated to a high degree,
I came here when email from Donegal,
In the Daniel Webster, across the sea;
In the Fourteenth Ward I situated,
In a tenement house with my brother Dan;
By perseverance I elevated,
And went to the front like a aolid man
Go with me and I'll treat you dneent;
Til set you down, and i'll fill the can;
As I walk the street each friend I meet
Says, "There goes Muldoon—he's a solid man/¹

At any party or any rnfBe
I always go as an invited guest;
As conspicuous as General Granite, boys,
I wear a rosebud upon my breast;
I'm called upon to address the meeting,
Without regard to clique or clan;
I show the constitution with elocution,
Bekaeo you know I'm asolid mam
For oppositions or politicians,
Take my word, I don't give a damn;
As I walk the street each friend I meet
Says/ ¹Tliere goes Muldoou-hc' a solid man.*•

I control the Tombs, I control the Island,
My constituents all go there
To enjoy the summer's recreation,
And the refreshing East river air;
I'm known in Harlem, I'm known in Jarsey,
I'm welcomed hearty on every band;
Wid my regalia on Patrick's day,
I march away like a solid man,

For opposition or politician, &c.

a7wTauwer?S
CARD AND JOB PRINTING ROOMS,
Tenth and Race Sts., Philadelphia, Pa.

A. W. AUNEK, SONG PUBLISHER & PRINTER,
Tenth and Race Sts., Philadelphia, Pa.

THE
NEVER WAS A COWARD
WHERE THE SHAMROCK GROWS.

Lei cowardly slanders Bay what they may
Against the dear land of my birth.
But I will maintain, in spite of all foes.
It's the dearest green spot on this earth.
Some say we are coward* and fit for naught else
But drinking our home-made potheen,
But ril throw back that villainous lie in their face—
We're as brave as the shamrock is green.

Chorus.

Pat may be foolish, and very often wrong;
Pat's got a temper which don't last very long;
Pat is full of jollity, aw everybody knows,
Hut there never was a coward where the shamrock grows.

Tho*oppressed and insulted for hundreds of years,
By the fne who once conquered them, they
Have left ug the courage our forefathers had,
For that they cannot take away.
They kept learning from us, stole all we held dear.
And crushed us till others cried shame ;
But in spile of it all we have struggled to lerrn
That courage and wit are the same.

Chorus.

Pat may be foolish, and very often wrong;
Pat's got a temper which don't last very long ;
Pat is full of jollity, a« everybody knows.
But there never **was** a coward where the shamrock **grows.**

A. W, AUNER'S
CARD AND JOB PRINTING ROOMS,
Tenth and Race Sts., Philadelphia, Pa.

Plate 10: 'There Never was a Coward where (he Shamrock Grows*.
(Rough wood Collection).

POOH PAT MUST EMIGRATE

Fare you well poor Erin's [ale, I now must leave you for awhile;
The rente and taxes are so high I can no longer stay.
From Dublin's quay I wailedaway, and landed here but yesterday;
Me shoes, and breeches and shirts now are nil that's in my kit.
.jave dropped in to tell you now the sights I have seen before I go,
Of the up* and downs in Ireland since the year of ninety-eight;
But if that Nation had its own, her noble sons might stay nt home.
But since fortune has it otherwise, poor Pat must emigrate.

The devil a word I would say at all, although our wages are but small,
If they left us in our cabins, where our fathers drew their b.e&th,
When they call upon rent-day, and the devil a cent you have to pay.
They will drive you from your house and home, to beg and starve to death
What kind of treatment, boys, is that, to give an honest Irish Pat?
To drive his family to the road to beg or starve for meat;
But I stood up with heart and hand, and sold my little spot of land;
That is the reason why [left and had to emigrate.

Such sights as that [>0 often seen, but [saw worse in Skibbareeu,
In forty-eight (that time is no more when famine it was great,
I saw fathers, boys, and girls with rosy cheeks and silken curls
All a-missing and starving for a mouthful of food to eat.
When they died in Skibbareen, no shroud or coffins were to be seen;
But patiently reconciling themselves to their horrid fate,
They were thrown in graves by wholesale which caused many an Irish
heart to wail
And caused many a boy and girl to be most glad to emigrate.

Where is the nation or the land that reared such men as Paddy's land?
Where is the man more noble than he they call poor Irish Pat?
We have fought for Englands Queen and beat her foes wherever seen;
We have taken the town of Delhi—if you please come tell me that,
We have pursued the Indian chief, and Nenah Sahib, that cursed thief,
Who skivered babes and mothers, and left them in their gore.
IJut why should we he so oppressed in the land of St. Patrick blessed,
The land from which we have the best, poor Paddy must emigrate.

There is not a son from Paddy's land but respects the memory of Dan,
Who fought and struggled hard in part the poor and plundered country
lie advocated Ireland's rights, with all his strength and might,
And was but poorly recompensed for all his toil and pains.
He told us to be in no haste, and in him for to place our trust,
And he would not desert us, or leave us to our fate,
But death to him no favor showed, from the beggar to the throne ;
Since they took our liberator poor Pal. must emigrate.

With spirits bright and purses light, my boys we can no longer stay,
For the shamrock is immediately bound for America,
For there is bread and work, which I cannot get in Donegal,
I told the truth, by great St Ruth, believe me what I say,
Good-night my boys, with hand and heart, all you who take Ireland's part,
I can no longer stay at home, for fear of being too late,
If ever again I see this land, I hope it will be with a Fenian baud ;
Bo God be with old Ireland, poor Pat must emigrate.

A.W. AUNER, SONG PUBLISHER, PHILA. PA.

A. W. AUNER, SONG PUBLISHER & PRINTER,
Tenth and Race Sts., Philadelphia, Pa.

STEER MY BARK TO ERIN'S ISLE.

Uh ' I have roamed o'er many lands.
And many friends I've met ;
Not one fair scene or kindly smile,
Can this fond heart forget.
But Til confess that I'm content
No more I wish to roam.
Oh I steer my bark to Erin's Isle.
For Erin is my home.

In Erin's Isle there's manly hearts
And bosoms pure as snow,
In Erin's Isle there's right good cheer.
And hearts that ever flow ;
In Erin's Isle I'd pass my time,
No more I wish to roam,
Oh ! steer my bark for Erin's Isle,
For Erin winy home.

If England was iny place of birth.
I'd hive her tranquil shore;
If bonny Scotland was my home,
Mor mountains I'd adore.
But pleasant days in both I've passed,,
Id dreams of days to come;
Oh ! steer my bark to Erin's Isle,
For Erin is my home.

A. W. AUHER'S
CARO I J08 PRINTINGROOMS
Tenth and Race Sts., Philadelphia, Pa.

A. W. AUNER, Song Publisher, Philadelphia, Pa.

PADDY IS THE BOY

It's some years ago, I very well know.
Since I first saw daylight with my two blessed eyes!
I was born, so they say, when my dad was away,
On St. Patrick's day in the morning.
How they nursed me with joy, said ; what a fine boy !
Put a stick in my fist, by the way of a toy :
Faith ! there's no mistake, they admired my make,
And said some day I'd give the girls a warning.

Chorus—For Paddy is the boy that's fond of a glass !
Paddy is the boy that's fond of a glass !
Dear Old Dublin is the place for me,
And Donnybrook is the place to go for a spree !

At a wake or a fair, poor Paddy is there ;
He will fight foe or friend, if they do him offend ;
Let the piper strike up—he will rise from his cup,
With a smile on his face adorning*
With his little Colleen, he'll dance on the green ;
Sure, an Irishman, there, in his glory was seen ;
Play a reel ar a jig, he don't care a fig ;
But he'll dance till daylight in the morning. **Chorus.**

Now, boys, do you mind; you never will find
Such a dear little place as the Emerald Isle ;
Long, long may it stand, and good luck to the land
That dear old St* Patrick was born in !
May the girls, young and old, may the boys brave and bold.
Unite heart and hand, to protect the dear Isle 1
And morn, noon, and night, may joy and delight
Shine on them, like a file summers morning* **Chorus,**

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historians. One of these was ‘Paddy’ Doyle of Phoenixville, whom Governor Pennypacker, historian of the town, evidently remembered from his boyhood days as ‘a late representative of the ancient and obsolete type of schoolmaster’. As recounted by Pennypacker:

The fathers in those days had but to suggest to their refractory sons the possibility of their being placed under Paddy’s instruction, and the most obstinate became subdued and submissive. He was short and round in person, and his nationality was revealed by a very decided brogue; his information was limited to his rudiments of reading, writing and “arethmetick”; his irascible temper was easily aroused by anything that seemed to threaten the dignity or authority of his calling; and he was thoroughly imbued with the idea that the only way to reach the intellects of boys was over the seats of their breeches. His rods, designated by the soft and seductive title of “mint sticks” [sticks of candy flavoured with mint], were arranged in the school room in rows, and were graded in proportion to the sizes of the unfortunate youths who awakened his wrath. ‘Come here’, said he, on one occasion to a lad, who had been recently added to his list of pupils, ‘and so your name is Whitaker. I have a Whitaker mint for ye’, and, taking down one of the stiffest of his goads, he beat the boy so unmercifully that he was sore for days.

Paddy lived in a little house in the town, ‘and when Joseph Whitaker once went to his residence, perhaps to complain of this treatment of his son, he was met at the threshold with “out of my hoose, out of my hoose. My hoose is my castle.”’³⁹

Architecture

Pioneer Americans in the Middle States, when they settled on a farm, often had to clear the fields of trees. In doing this they frequently used the time-honoured practice from the Continent of

³⁹ Samuel Whitaker Pennypacker, *Annals of Phoenixville and Its Vicinity: From the Settlement to the Year 1871, Giving the Origin and Growth of the Borough, with Information Concerning the Adjacent Townships of Chester and Montgomery Counties and the Valley of the Schuylkill*, Philadelphia 1872, 185-6.

Europe of ‘slashing and burning’.⁴⁰ Sometimes they cut down the trees, rolled them into a huge pile and set them afire, using the ashes to enrich the soil of what was called in the process ‘new ground’. They left the stumps standing, and ploughed around them, later pulling them out, roots and all, when they had rotted and loosened up. Sometimes they set up the fan-like roots in rows as fences around the fields, to keep out the cattle, deer, and other predators. When I was a boy, I remember seeing some of these primitive ‘stump fences’, as we called them, in the High Alleghenies in the county that was significantly named Clearfield County when it was founded in the pioneer era (1804).

But there were so many trees in pioneer America that the settlers used logs, either in their round state or squared with the adze, for building their primitive houses. These one-story dwellings, with one or two rooms, a loft above and sometimes a kitchen wing at the back, were called by the Irish word ‘cabin’ - a term in widespread use in nineteenth-century Ireland, especially by outsiders, to describe a basic dwelling-house⁴¹ (See Plate 14). We called them *log cabins*, because of the material that they were made from. You

⁴⁰ The ‘slashing and burning technique’ was used in Pennsylvania into the nineteenth century, in areas being settled. Dr. Berton E. Beck, a native of Lycoming County in Central Pennsylvania, prepared for me three detailed articles on ‘Taming the Land’, i.e. clearing fields of timber, removing the stumps, etc., in the pioneer era. The methods used by Pennsylvanians in the first period of settlement were the European slashing and burning techniques, and the ground cleared, ready for planting, was called ‘new ground’, with emphasis on the ‘new’. Dr. Beck’s articles are as follows: (1) ‘Land Clearing in Lycoming County, Pennsylvania’, *Pennsylvania Folklife* XIV:1 (October 1964), 24-9; ‘Taming the Land’, *ibid.*, XIV:3 (Spring 1965), 28-31; and (3) ‘Stump Pulling’, *ibid.*, XVI:1 (Autumn 1966), 20-31.

⁴¹ For log architecture and the log cabin in early America, see Henry Glassie, *Patterns in the Material Folk Culture of the Eastern United States*, Philadelphia 1968, 49, 52-3, 78, 101-2, 215. Contested theories over the origins of American log architecture and building techniques range from Finland to the former Czechoslovakia. English settlers did not bring techniques of log construction from home. In fact, the only part of British America where logs were used in the period of earliest settlement was Maine and New Hampshire, where ‘garrison houses’ made of logs were erected to protect against Indian incursions. For this background, see Richard McAlpin Candee, *Wooden Buildings in Early Maine and New Hampshire: A Technological and Cultural History, 1600-1720*, PhD Dissertation, American Civilisation Department, University of Pennsylvania, 1976. See Alan Gailey, *Rural Houses of the North of Ireland*, Edinburgh 1994, 197-200, for the social and economic implications of the use of the word ‘cabin’ with reference to dwelling-houses in nineteenth-century Ireland.

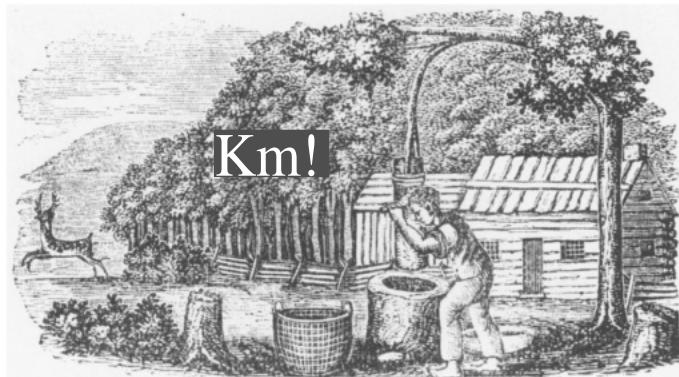


Plate 14: A pioneer Pennsylvanian pounding com the Indian way, to make hominy or grits, a staple on early Pennsylvanian tables. Note that his dwelling was a log cabin, and the word 'cabin'¹ was an importation from Ireland. (Roughwood Collection).

had houses in Ireland of the same spatial pattern, constructed of stone. Stone was not normally used for Pennsylvania housing until the second or third generation, when the economy of the farm had stabilised through the marketing system, and the family had enough capital to erect a much larger and more comfortable stone farmhouse. Sometimes the log structure was kept as an outbuilding, for use at butchering time in fall and winter, and also as a wash-house, where the women did laundry. Our farmers installed a huge iron kettle set in a waist-high brick hearth heated from below, which was equally useful for boiling water for washing as for boiling the meat for sausages. This left butcher broth for the table as a soup, or by the addition of buckwheat and other Hours, constructing the iconic Pennsylvania Dutch pate known as '⁴ponhoss' or 'scrapple',⁴²

⁴² William Woys Weaver, *Country Scrapple: An American Tradition*, Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania 2003. In the old country - in counties Antrim and Down in the northeast of Ireland - there was a dish called in County Down 'durgan'¹, and in County Antrim 'mealey-crushy', consisting of 'oatmeal fried in dripping, and sometimes flavoured with leeks, &c/., (see Patterson, *op. cir.* 1880, 34, 67). Writing in her 1949 cookbook, Florence Irwin gives a recipe for, and comments on, this dish as follows: 'Ingredients: Coarsely ground oatmeal, bacon, (and onion if liked). Method: - After Frying some bacon fat, add the dry oatmeal and fry till toasted. This is served with bacon and potatoes. Onion is sometimes fried with the meal. It is one of the dinners expected by farm labourers al harvest'time in North and North East Antrim to this day/ (From; Florence Irwin, *The Cookin' Woman*, Belfast 1986. First published in 1949).

There is evidence, too, of thatched buildings in eighteenth and nineteenth-century Pennsylvania, although these were usually barns or outbuildings rather than dwelling houses, which normally were roofed with wooden shingles or ceramic tiles. There are actually photographs extant from the 1880s of men thatching a barn in Franklin County, Pennsylvania, a county originally settled by Scotch-Irish emigrants.⁴³

Foods and Foodways

American foods today come from all over the world. Thanks to tourism - which introduced Americans to European ethnic cookery, and secondly, the twentieth-century migration to the United States of ethnic foods from the Jewish world, from India, China, Japan, and other Asian countries, as well as from Africa - our tables are now international. Restaurants featuring all these cuisines - as, for instance, Thai restaurants from the former French Indo-China, are in full operation.⁴⁴ From the New World, American eaters can sample the distinctive fare of Mexico and Central and South American kitchens, and while French Canadian cookery is not part of this international restaurant renaissance (except in French-Canadian enclaves in New England), we still have a huge number of French restaurants. And there was, for a time, a curious spread of 'Cajun' cuisine - the creole cookery of New Orleans and the bayous of Louisiana, settled when, in 1755, the English government drove

⁴³ See Alfred L. Shoemaker, 'Straw Roofs in the Pennsylvania Dutch Country', in *The Pennsylvania Dutchman* II:I (May 1, 1950), 3. See also Glassie, *op. cit.*, 1968, 209-12.

⁴⁴ I must add that while I now enjoy an occasional restaurant meal, when I was growing up we never ate out as a family, except when travelling. But for shorter train trips we always packed a lunch. I remember the fragrance of peeling oranges on the train, and the fun of eating hard-boiled eggs, properly salted and peppered! It was also not the custom in my boyhood days to invite neighbours in for a meal, or to be invited over to their houses. We were neighbourly to each other, but eating together was just not done. All of this has changed today for more sharing of cuisine among neighbours, especially at holiday times. But of course in the past there were always community events such as Sunday-School picnics in the summer, when everyone shared food at long tables, family reunions, and other picnic occasions.

the French-speaking Acadian natives from their homeland and renamed it Nova Scotia. With all this culinary confusion, with the exception of Cajun food, very few American restaurants (except diners and working-class establishments) feature what one should call 'American' foods.

But there is an American cuisine, and always has been.⁴⁵ So let us go back to the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, when Americans ate their own concoctions on their own tables. We had a variety of ethnic/regional food complexes at that time - New England Yankee dishes, and Holland Dutch foods in New York, New Jersey, and Delaware - we got the words 'croller' (Du. 'Krullen') and 'cookie' (Du. 'Kokje') from the Hollanders. Then there was, and still is, a powerful Southern fare, with lots of Black input since the slaves were the expert cooks on the plantations. And our Blacks are still expert cooks - you should attend their fabulous church suppers! In my part of the country, Pennsylvania Dutch and Irish (mostly Scotch-Irish) foods were common. So let's look at some of the Irish influences.

Let us start with tea and coffee. While some present-day old-fashioned Pennsylvania Quakers still prefer tea like their English and Irish forefathers and mothers, coffee is now the preferred drink for most Pennsylvanians, especially for breakfast. When I was a little boy my mother did not allow me to imbibe coffee, but on those happy occasions when I stayed with Grandmother Kate, of the Irish accent and vocabulary (see the section on folk speech), *she* served me coffee, and I became a lifelong addict. She 'sassered' [saucered] her coffee - pouring it out into a high-rimmed saucer - but I drank mine from a cup.

Meals were simpler in the past, often what are called by food historians 'one-pot' meals. I remember many a winter evening

⁴⁵ For early American foods and our regional cookery, see Don Yoder, 'Folk Cookery', in Richard M. Dorson, (ed.), *Folklore and Folklife: An Introduction*, Chicago 1972, 325-50. This article was actually one of the first calls from a folk-cultural scholar for concentrated research on American regional ethnic foods and foodways. For a contemporary survey of American foods, see the essay by Peter W. Williams, 'Foodways', in *Encyclopedia of American Social History*, (Note 1), vol. II, 1331-44.

supper of mush and milk, relished by the whole family. Mush was the American adaptation of wheat or oat porridge eaten in the old country, made out of the standard American grain, Indian corn or maize. It was universal in early America, and was called by different names outside Pennsylvania. The Yankees of New England, for example, called it ‘hasty pudding’ - a Yankee joke because it took so long to boil properly. Some years ago I wrote an extended essay on the dish called ‘Pennsylvanians called it Mush’, and once made the mistake at a scholarly conference of saying that ‘I probably am the world’s authority on mush’, which at least raised some laughs!⁴⁶ Mush is served in two ways, as hot porridge usually with milk, and what is left over is allowed to ‘set’ in rectangular pans, from which it is sliced and fried, usually as a breakfast dish. Today mush is sold in American supermarkets nationwide, and even in Pennsylvania, I am distressed to say, under the somewhat inflated name of ‘polenta’.

Milk products in Pennsylvania are somewhat similar to those in Ireland. Common milk dishes include ‘cottage cheese’ (called ‘Schmierkees’ [G. *Schmierkasc*: ‘soft or spreadable cheese’] in Pennsylvania Dutch - because it ‘schmiers’ [spreads]), but older Pennsylvanians knew and used the word ‘bonnyclabber’ - from the Irish-language ‘*bainne clabair*’ meaning ‘sour thick milk’. We also consumed plenty of buttermilk, and older Pennsylvanians used to

⁴⁶ Don Yoder, ‘Pennsylvanians Called it Mush’. *Pennsylvania Folklife* XIII:3 (Winter 1962-3), 27-[49]. The title comes from Joel Barlow’s popular poem, ‘The Hasty Pudding’ (1796), written, so the story goes, while Barlow was in Europe, homesick for steaming bowls of cornmeal porridge. The following description of hasty pudding in the *Scottish National Dictionary* for Argyll in 1956 resembles somewhat the preparation and serving of mush: ‘The old dish, hasty puddin’, consists of oatmeal, suet and a little seasoning cooked in a pan or skillet and served hot. Alternatively the pudding can be “dished” into a pie-dish and left to cool when it sets into a solid mass which will keep for a long time.’ References to this pudding are, however, attested in English literature from at least the late sixteenth century. It could be made of milk and flour or very often of oatmeal slowly boiled in water and eaten with milk, butter, treacle or beer. ‘Hasty brose’ - a dish of oatmeal with boiling water or milk poured on it was considered rather tough to swallow, i.e. ‘longer in eating than in the making’. See *OED* and *The English Dialect Dictionary*, (ed.), Joseph Wright, vol. III, Edinburgh 1905), under ‘hasty pudding’.

eat for breakfast what our Dutch call ‘*dicke Millich*’ [German: *dicke Milch*] or ‘thick milk’.⁴⁷

Another favourite breakfast dish was buckwheat cakes. Buckwheat was a favoured grain for poorish land in the hills where planting wheat was not feasible. It was considered a poor man’s grain, a poverty food, although so many Americans ate buckwheat cakes that an English traveller in the 1790s referred to the dish as ‘the celebrated buckwheat cake’.⁴⁸

We also used the word ‘flannel cakes’ for pancakes made of wheat flour, but ‘flannel’ is a word that Pennsylvanians got from Wales, where ‘flannel cake’ referred to a thin form of griddle cake resembling flannel cloth in texture. The Pennsylvania Dutch farmers also used buckwheat flour to thicken the butcher broth to make their universally-eaten breakfast concoction, scrapple or ponhoss.

⁴⁷ Don Yoder, ‘Come Butter Come!’, in *1970 Festival of American Folklife*, Washington 1970, 31-4. For maps showing the regional locations of the various terms for the *ciabbex-Schmierkees* category of milk products, see Hans Kurath, *A Word Geography of the Eastern United States*, Ann Arbor, Michigan 1949. For the meaning of the Irish language term *bainne clabair*, see Rev. Patrick S. Dinneen, *Foclóir Gaedhlige agus Bearla*, Dublin 1927. See also the extensive entry for ‘bonnyclabber’ in Dolan, *op. cit.*, including a quotation from Alan Bliss to the effect that ‘bonnyclabber’ was probably ‘the most frequently-used Irish word in English writings of the seventeenth century.’ (Alan Bliss, *Spoken English in Ireland 1600-1740*, Dublin 1979, 271). The etymology of the word ‘bonnyclabber’ is discussed by Kemp Malone in *Celtica* V (1960), 142, where he suggests that it might originally have meant ‘milk of the churn dasher’, on the basis that ‘clabar’ may have been an old word for ‘dasher’ (Modern Irish ‘*clabaire*’). A churn ‘dasher’ (also called a ‘joggler’ in parts of Ireland [see T. O’Neill Lane, *Larger English-Irish Dictionary*, Dublin n.d.]) refers to the small cup-shaped object fitted over the lid of the churn, through which the churn staff passes. Its function is to prevent the milk splashed against it during churning, escaping through the hole. Perhaps, the figurative use of the word ‘clobber’ in Pennsylvania (and, indeed, still in the UK and Ireland), as in the sentence: ‘That boy really got *clobbered* [thrashed] in the fight’, reflects the vigorous beating of the milk against the dasher (*‘clabar’, ‘clabaire’*) during churning?

⁴⁸ Thomas Twining, *Travels in America 100 Years Ago: Being Notes and Reminiscences*, New York 1902. Thomas Twining (1776-1861) had spent time in India beginning at the age of sixteen in 1792, so he was quite young when he visited America in 1795-6 on his way back to England. He was received in the highest circles of Philadelphia (by President and Mrs. Washington, Vice-president John Adams, Dr. Priestley, and William Hamilton), and the same in Baltimore and elsewhere. His travel book is eminently readable, but, alas, its short introduction is unsigned, and no information is given about the manuscript.

Breads varied according to the ethnic groups in our pioneer days. The Pennsylvania Dutch grew both wheat and rye, selling some of the rye to the distilleries to make rye whiskey, Pennsylvania's favourite variety. It is still made in Western Pennsylvania by a firm founded by a Mennonite named Abraham Overholt, and its brand name is 'Old Overholt', matching 'Old Crow', 'Old Turkey', 'Old Quaker' and other brand names.⁴⁹

Much wheat was sold from Pennsylvania farms to the urban markets, or for export, so during the week many Pennsylvania Dutchmen ate black or rye bread, with white bread on Sunday. Some Pennsylvanians called white bread 'Presbyterian' bread, the idea being that those rivals of the Dutch, those well-to-do Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, could afford to eat it all the time, not just on Sunday.

We also have records from the pioneer days of the more primitive method of baking bread on a tilted stone or metal plate on the hearth, and if made of cornmeal the product was called a 'jonny cake'. American linguists are still arguing about the origins of the word, and some have dignified it into 'journey cake', since it could easily be produced by a campfire. Perhaps their suggestion is not too fanciful as Kevin Danaher has pointed out in his collection of folklife essays, *In Ireland long Ago* (Cork 1967, 47-8), that Irish emigrants often brought with them on the long sea-journey to America, thin, unleavened oaten cakes baked on a stand before the fire, which remained eatable for months.

Root vegetables like potatoes, turnips, and parsnips were universal among us Pennsylvanians. Potatoes are fried, mashed, baked, and served as salads or in potato soup (into which my mother always broke an egg, making it in a sense akin to Chinese egg drop soup and Italian *stracciatella*). Also, my proverb-laden mother used to use the phrase 'boiled on and fried off' for fried potatoes first boiled with the skins on, then sliced and fried denuded of their

⁴⁹ It is said that the best distillers in eighteenth-century Pennsylvania were Swiss Mennonites and Scotch-Irish Presbyterians. Present-day Mennonites, however, are extremely temperance-minded, and would undoubtedly like to excise the Overholt story from their history. But Overholt's influence reached nationwide recognition through the career of his grandson, Henry Clay Frick (1849-1919), whose Frick Gallery in New York City houses one of America's major art collections.

skins. Then, when mashed potatoes were left over, they were patted into balls and browned in the frying pan and called *potato cakes* - a dish still familiar to Irish people. And some Pennsylvania Dutch cooks shredded potatoes and fresh-fried them like that superb Swiss dish called '*Rosti*.' Anyway, as you suspect, I grew up with all these delicacies on our table at home.

Now lastly, out of a much longer list of foods that I could continue with, I have a question for you. Do *elderberries* grow in Ireland? I've seen them at farms all over South Germany and Switzerland, the major homeland of our Pennsylvania Dutch, and I say, I always feel at home where elderberries grow. Like buckwheat, they were, in a sense, a poverty food, and we used to say, if we had a bad growing summer and fruit was scarce, 'There will always be elderberries.'

We use elderberries for pies - one of my favourites - for elderberry jelly, and for elderberry wine, much resembling ruby port. But we also make wine of elder blossoms, which turns into a quite palatable golden liquid much like sauterne. Many of our farmers, even those inclined to temperance, like my Grandfather Yoder, made these home-made dessert wines. We have in our garden in Pennsylvania two huge elderberry bushes, and every summer I am delegated to pick the berries, take them off the stems, and freeze them for winter pies and jellies.

One more note. A dear old woman named Mertie (for Martha) Richards, who went to country school with Grandmother Kate and grew up in the same valley as my mother, and went to the same church, once, when I was chatting with her, actually interviewing her about our traditional foods, used the now (in Pennsylvania) archaic term 'elder bortry' for 'elder bush'. I had never heard it before, but dutifully noted it down, and am happy to include it today as another Irish/Scotch-Irish addition to our Central Pennsylvania vocabulary.⁵⁰

⁵⁰ I have not yet found the Pennsylvania phrase 'elder bortry' in the dialect dictionaries, but will keep searching. C. I. Macafee, *A Concise Ulster Dictionary*, Oxford 1996, 36, gives the phrase 'boortree bush' for the elder plant (*Sambuca nigra*). See also the *Oxford English Dictionary (OED)* sub 'bourtree', meaning *Sambuca* 'elder-tree'.

Lastly, one final note, about elderberries. Pennsylvania fathers in the past, handy with their pocket-knives, manufactured for their children, especially for their sons, little toys from elder stems. I recall blowguns or peashooters, whistles, and primitive flutes from my own boyhood days.⁵¹

Irish Influences on Pennsylvania Folk Speech

To me, one of the most intriguing and documentable influences of Ireland on Pennsylvania can be seen in the common or folk-speech patterns of Pennsylvanians.⁵² This can be studied in three areas: (1) Central Pennsylvania, (2) The Anthracite Coal Region, and (3) Philadelphia.

My family roots on my mother's side are in Central Pennsylvania, and, as I have mentioned, I was born there in the High Allegheny Mountains that extend South into Appalachia. In fact Central Pennsylvania is the upper fifth of the American cultural region that we call Appalachia from the mountain chain. The whole area - the western parts of the states of Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas, with Kentucky and Tennessee across the mountains - was settled largely by Pennsylvanians in the eighteenth century, who carried Scotch-Irish, Pennsylvania Dutch, and Quaker culture traits Southward.

⁵¹ My Pennsylvania Dutch father called a 'pea-shooter' made of an elderberry stem a '*Holler-Bix*', from '*Bix*' meaning gun, and '*Holler*', the Pennsylvania Dutch word for elder. In our Dutch, the word '*Holler-Biere*' is used for elderberries. See also *OED* sub 'bourtree-gun', with the meaning 'a popgun made from the wood of the elder after the pith has been removed.' I understand that such toy 'guns' were well-known to children in Ireland until relatively recent times.

⁵² The massive work on American English by H. L. Mencken is indispensable. The fourth edition (1936) plus the two supplements (1945, 1948) have been abridged into a one-volume edition, with annotations and new material by Raven I. McDavid Jr., with the assistance of David W. Maurer, and published under the original title, *The American Language: An Inquiry into the Development of English in the United States*, New York 1974. For the quotation beginning this section, see p. 195. A most useful accompaniment of this work is Mitford McLeod Matthews, *The Beginnings of American English. Essays and Comments*, Chicago 1963. This includes the detailed linguistic notes by the Rev. John Witherspoon (1722-1794), head of the College of New Jersey, now Princeton University, who coined the term 'Americanism' in 1781. The newest addition to this field of scholarship is the four-volume *Dictionary of American Regional English*, edited by Frederic G. Cassidy, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 4 vols., 1985-2002.

In Central Pennsylvania, more so than in the more solidly Pennsylvania Dutch settlements of Southeastern Pennsylvania, the emigrants from Ireland, particularly the Scotch-Irish, mingled and lived neighbours, as we say, to the Pennsylvania Dutch. In the process they traded, or swapped, as we say too, architectural forms, foods, and above all, linguistic patterns. A case in point is my own grandmother - and what would folklore be without grandmothers? Mine - my mother's mother, Kate Gingery Cronister (1859-1933) - was born and raised and lived on a farm most of her life. She had only one-room country-school education, and was never out of Pennsylvania. Her background was solidly Pennsylvania Dutch, mostly from Swiss roots, but her English speech betrayed strong Irish influences. She employed the verb 'to flit' not for a butterfly's pattern of flight, but for a farmer's move to a new farm, often on April 1, when leases ran out.⁵³ The wagon-load of household goods was called a 'flittin' (without the 'g') - as in 'There goes John Brown's flittin to his new place.' And when Grandmother's household goods were flitted by wagon one wintry day in 1900, twenty-one long cold miles from the county seat where my Grandfather had just finished his term as county sheriff, it was so cold that all of Grandmother's precious potted plants froze.

My family and many of our neighbours used expressions and bywords that bore the mark of Ireland. One of my favourite words is 'to redd up' or 'redd out' a room⁵⁴ - an expression which I once heard E. Estyn Evans use in this very meaning during a visit to Northern Ireland in 1956. When occasionally I used this expression with my university students, I could always tell where they were from if they recognised it. And we used it in this way: 'My room *needs* redd up' - which I consider an ellipsis for 'needs (to be) redd

⁵³ 'Flit' evidently came to Ulster from Scotland, and got to Scotland from Scandinavia, since it appears that the word derives from Old Norse *flitta*, meaning to move from place to place. See Alf Sommerfelt 'The Norse influence on Irish and Scottish Gaelic', in Brian Ó Cuív, (ed.), *A View of the Irish Language*, Dublin 1969, 73-7. Friday and Saturday were unlucky days for flitting, according to my mother, who often repeated the Central Pennsylvania saying, 'Friday flit - short sit, 'Saturday flit - shorter yit [yet]'.

⁵⁴ On these locutions, see Michael Dressman, 'Redd up', *American Speech* LIV (1979), 191-5.

up' - although prissy purists have sometimes rebuked me by saying, 'You should say, it needs *redding up*.' But my attitude is that these countrified terms of speech - and I use that word 'countrified' affectionately - are legitimate. They are not ungrammatical but are simply English dialect forms.

But my favourite locution from my family's past is our use of a folk plural of 'you' (which of course is already plural). In the country where my mother grew up everyone addressed more than one 'you' as 'you'uns'.⁵⁵ I had a dear schoolteacher cousin up there in the mountains married to my first cousin Andy Myers, a hill-country farmer but in later life a truck driver. She was a Dillon, with Irish family roots. We visited back and forth, and one time she wrote us a letter - which I dutifully saved for scholarly archiving - in which she asked us, 'When are *you ones* coming up? *We ones* would like a visit.' In other words she grammaticalised, schoolmistress-fashion, the folk expression. And one time when I delivered my lecture on 'The Discovery of Central Pennsylvania' to a local historical society, a woman came up to me afterward and said, 'Dr. Yoder, we certainly *did* use "you'uns" and "we'uns" around here, but we also used "us'ns"', so there was a folk accusative case to boot.⁵⁶ And here is the place to add that if enough people will encourage me, I intend to write an essay with the title: 'You'uns, We'uns, and Us'ns: Some Thoughts on the Folk Speech of Central Pennsylvania!'

⁵⁵ For 'you'uns' and related formations ('you'all', 'yous', 'we'uns' and so on), see H. L. Mencken, *The American Language. An Inquiry into the Development of English in the United States*, New York 1974, 543-9. Mencken even reports 'you'unses' (543), which I remember from Central Pennsylvania. And on origins he cites Jespersen in attributing the pronouns in '-uns' to Scottish dialect. See Otto Jespersen, *A Modern English Grammar*, Heidelberg 1922, Part II, Vol. I, 262.

⁵⁶ Reported also from Appalachia, although I never heard it in my area, is 'they'uns' for 'those ones'. For this, see Michael B. Montgomery and Joseph S. Hall, *Dictionary of Smoky Mountain English*, Knoxville, Tennessee 2004. The area covered in this volume is Western North Carolina and the adjoining parts of Tennessee. Appalachian English has been studied thoroughly in recent years. For a concise digest of the Scotch-Irish influence on Appalachian speech, see Michael B. Montgomery, 'The Scotch-Irish Element in Appalachian English: How Broad? How Deep?', in H. Tyler Blethen and Curtis W. Wood Jr., (eds.), *Ulster and North America: Transatlantic Perspectives on the Scotch-Irish*, Tuscaloosa, Alabama 1997, 189-212. For 'your uns', meaning 'your family', in the north-east of Ireland, see Patterson, *op. cit.*, 1880, 118.

Among our expressions there were also other words that may or may not turn out to be from Ireland. Examples are: 'deil' [Ir. *diabhal*] for Devil and 'deilish' for obstreperous, as in the statement: 'Those deilish children are at it again.' Then there was 'toadsticker' for a dull knife.⁵⁷ A 'tramp piece' was a handout to the many homeless vagrants who made their rounds in the countryside.⁵⁸ 'Through-other' meant confused, as in the sentence, 'For some reason I was all through-other yesterday.'⁵⁹ 'Riley' meant stirred up (roily), as in 'The spring water was all riley this morning, something must have stirred it up.' And 'skitters', preceded by 'the', as in the phrase, 'to have the skitters', was a common synonym for diarrhoea.⁶⁰ And not wishing to end on 'skitters', we come finally to the word 'gooney', for a rounded, somewhat heavy stone that fits into the palm of your hand.⁶¹ I heard that from boyhood friends, and there was even an expression, 'to whale a gooney at him', although I assure you I never did *that*.

There were also in Central Pennsylvania certain pronunciations that it took me a long time to get over myself. One is 'warsh' for

⁵⁷ There is an exact parallel in Pennsylvania Dutch - '*Grottagickser*'. And Oswald A. Erich and Richard Beitl, *Wörterbuch der deutschen Volkskunde*, Neu Bearbeitung von Richard Beitl unter Mitarbeitung von Klaus Beitl, 3. Auflage, Stuttgart 1974, 482, informs us that a 'widespread expression for a cheap dull knife is '*Krottehegl*', '*PoggenscheP*'.

⁵⁸ Grandmother Kate Cronister made her 'tramp pieces' (and this was her word) by spreading a big slice of home-made bread with butter and jelly, then folding it over. Of course I ate many of her tramp pieces when I was a little boy.

⁵⁹ There is an exact parallel in Pennsylvania Dutch '*darrich-enanneP*' and High German '*durcheinandeP*'. The Scottish evidence, 'through-ither' can be found in *Chambers's Scots Dictionary*, 1911, 611. 'Through-other', 'Throother', meaning 'confused', and used in expressions like 'His horse is all through-other', was noted for the north-east of Ireland in the late nineteenth century by Patterson, *op. cit.*, 1880, 106. The Irish language expression is *trina cheile*, 'mixed-up, 'confused' (see Niall 6 Donaill, (eag.), *Foclóir Gaeilge-Bearla*, Baile Atha Cliath 1977, *sub 'trf'*).

⁶⁰ *Chambers's Scots Dictionary*, 520, gives 'skitter' as a verb - 'to have diarrhoea', and as a noun, 'liquid excrement, diarrhoea...' The Scottish-Gaelic term for diarrhoea is *sgiodar* (see Edward Dwelly, *Faclair Gaidhlig gu Beurla le Dealbhan/The Illustrated Gaelic-English Dictionary*, Glasgow 1977 (ninth edition), and the Irish language term is *sciödar* (see 6 Donaill, *op. cit.*). In Pennsylvania usage the noun is always plural, preceded by the definite article.

⁶¹ For 'gooney', see Frederic G. Cassidy, (ed.), *The Dictionary of American Regional English*, vol. II, Cambridge, Mass. 1991, 730.

'wash'. Monday was always the sacred 'warsh day' with us, and America's capital city was 'Washington.' Another was the use of an epenthetic vowel in words such as 'pru-uns' for 'prunes', and 'fillurn' for 'film'. Recently I met two girls shopping at the local supermarket, and one said to the other, 'Don't forget to get pru-uns.' I couldn't resist approaching them with, 'From your pronunciation of pru-uns you must be from Central Pennsylvania!' They laughed and said, 'Yes, we are from Williamsport.'

Another saying comes to mind from my Central Pennsylvania boyhood. My mother had an oft-repeated expression about the weather: 'Mackerel sky doesn't lie.' I never really found out what that meant, as to weather prediction, but assumed that it referred to curious cloud formations resembling mackerel scales.

I make no claims for the unique Irish origins of any of the words and expressions I have reported here, except to say that they are all part of my rich folkloric background growing up in Central Pennsylvania, where there were plenty of Scotch-Irish and some early Catholic Irish settlers who influenced the area's culture.

The second area of Pennsylvania where Irish words and expressions are found in the common everyday English speech, is our anthracite coal region, which covers several adjoining counties in Northeastern Pennsylvania.⁶² This area was settled by new waves of European emigrants in the nineteenth century, when the mines were opened by wealthy Philadelphia business people. Ukrainian, Welsh, Italian, and above all, Irish immigrants worked in the mines there alongside native Pennsylvania Dutchmen whose families had settled in the area in the eighteenth century (Plate 15).

⁶² For the anthracite coal region, see Donald L. Miller and Richard E. Sharpless, *The Kingdom of Coal: Enterprise and Ethnic Communities in the Mine Fields*, Philadelphia 1980, and Ronald Berthoff, 'The Social Order of the Anthracite Region, 1825-1902, *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, LXXXIX (July 1965), 261-91. A useful map of Pennsylvania's two coal regions (anthracite and bituminous) can be found in Don Yoder, 'The Middle Atlantic Region', in *Encyclopedia of American Social History*, vol. 2, New York 1993, 945-60. And for a lively ethnographic account of the Irish in the anthracite region in the nineteenth century, see Phebe Earle Gibbons, 'The Miners of Scranton', in her book *Pennsylvania Dutch & Other Essays*, with an 'Introduction' by Don Yoder, Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania, 2001, 268-303. This is a reprint of the third revised edition of her book, which appeared in 1882.

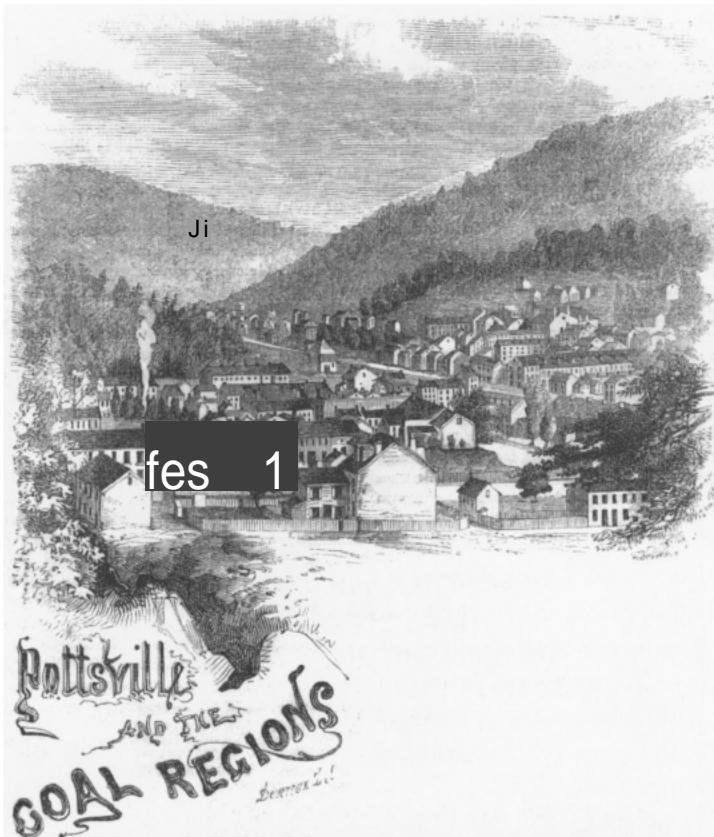


Plate 15: Pottsville, Pennsylvania in 1854. A capital of The Coal Region. From *Graham's Magazine* XLV:1 (July 1854), Philadelphia.

The Irish influence on the American labour movement, through such leaders as John Mitchell (1870-1919), was profound, and it had its origins largely in Pennsylvania's coal regions.⁶³ But before this positive movement, the Irish had organised anti-establishment activity in the area, that we must look at briefly (Plate 16).

⁶¹ For John Mitchell (1870-1919), raised as a Presbyterian in an Illinois mining town, see ANB XV, 607-8. His work in Pennsylvania led to the organisation of the United Mine Workers. He is remembered among other things for the memorable statement, which undoubtedly eased ethnic tensions, "The coal you dig isn't Slavish [Slavic] or Polish or Irish Coal, it's coal/

MOLLY MAGUIRE WEEKEND

Sponsored by the
Historical Society of Schuylkill County
Pottsville, PA

Friday, June 24
5:00 p. m. & 6:00 p. m.
Molly Trolley tour of Pottsville
Tour begins at Historical Society,
305 N. Centre St.
Donation \$10.00

Saturday, June 25
1:00 p. m.
The Great Molly Debate
(Did they exist?)
Schuylkill County Court House
Second Street & Laurel Blvd.
Pottsville, PA
Donation \$15.00

For more information call 570-622-7540

Plate 16: 'Mollie Maguire Weekend'. The Molly Maguires were a resistance organisation operating against the mine owners in Pennsylvania's anthracite regions in the 1860s and 1870s. Pottsville, the county seat of Schuylkill County, now celebrates its heritage in this amazingly touristic event. (Roughwood Collection).

The oppression of the miners by the mine operators became so unpleasant in the 1860s and 1870s that in Schuylkill County and the adjacent mining areas the Irish resorted to terror and assassination in the secret organisation known as the 'Molly Maguires', or, simply, the 'Mollies.' Their clandestine activities indeed struck terror among the non-Irish, particularly the Pennsylvania Dutch, as I can report from stories from my own family. The movement ended in sensational trials and seventeen hangings. The literature on the

movement is extensive on both sides. Also during the Civil War the Irish miners of Schuylkill County conducted anti-draft riots to show their opposition to the war.

In the Dutch valleys of Western Schuylkill County there was also some activity among the Dutch farmers against the war effort. The majority of the Dutch supported the war, and joined the earliest regiments going South, but a minority, anti-Lincoln Democrats, called at the time 'Copperheads' - from the snake that strikes without warning - were quelled by the Federal Marshal who rode into the area to make arrests. Again, I have stories about these exciting events from my own family background. The Federal Marshal who tracked down the ringleaders was an uncle of my Grandfather Yoder, and the principal agitator, who escaped and was never tried for treason and died as a respectable well-to-do farmer in the 1870s, had been married to an aunt of my Grandmother Yoder.⁶⁴

But back to the language! In the coal towns and even in the smaller 'mine patches', Irishmen and Pennsylvania Dutchmen lived and worked side by side. I have Pennsylvania Dutch cousins from these mining towns, completely Pennsylvania Dutch in family heritage, but when they speak English, they sound very Irish. They have what we call somewhat inelegantly the 'Coalcracker' accent. A cousin of mine named Paul Morgan, who worked in the mines in his early life, constantly used the word 'lad' (as in 'He was a nice lad'), a word that most Americans treat as archaic, or poetic *a la* Housman. He also said things like, 'Me mother told me this many and many a time' (Ir. *arts agus arts eile*) and other suspiciously Irish locutions. In fact when he was in the army, during the Second World War, an Irish buddy asked him, 'What county in Ireland were you born in?' Cousin Paul used to tell that with great delight.

⁶⁴ For the older bibliography on the Molly Maguires, see *Writings on Pennsylvania History: A Bibliography, A List of Secondary Sources. Compiled Under the Auspices of the Pennsylvanian Historical Association*, by Arthur C. Bining, Robert L Brunhouse, and Norman B. Wilkinson, Harrisburg 1946, 281. For more recent literature, see Donald L. Miller and Richard E. Sharpless, *The Kingdom of Coal: Enterprise and Ethnic Communities in the Mine Fields*, Philadelphia 1985, note 62. There is also a detailed bibliography of books in print on the subject available from the Historical Society of Schuylkill County in Pottsville, Pennsylvania.

The third area of Irish influence on Pennsylvania speech patterns is Philadelphia, Pennsylvania's largest city and leading cultural centre. The urban Irish, especially the lower classes, have given some distinctive elements to the city's English. One of the chief elements of this influence is the subtle 'Philadelphia accent' detectable in the public addresses of our former Irish-American Mayor James Tate, as well as in the public utterances of his volatile successor the Italian-American, Frank Rizzo. There is also a more general working-class usage among native Philadelphians in their very own 'you' plural. Whereas in Central Pennsylvania we used 'you'uns,' in Philadelphia many people use the locution 'yous', as in the expression 'yous guys.'

I could go on *and on* but I'll close this section of my lecture - omitting the scatological evidence which I am sure is transatlantic, and it certainly is folklore - by citing a few household expressions that I remember from my boyhood. When someone asks you, 'How old are you?' there are several bantering folk answers. One is 'Old enough to know better', another is 'As old as my big toe.' When you ask to have something repeated ('*What did you say?*'), one answer is 'I don't chew my cabbage twice.' And when you request the revelation of a secret: 'That's for *me* to know and *you* to find out.' And, finally, a tribute to the rural hospitality that existed in Pennsylvania, whether you were Dutch or Irish or English. Neighbours always went in to a neighbour's house by the kitchen door, usually without knocking. The common saying sanctioning this open-door policy was, 'The latch string is on the outside.' In other words, in the log cabin days there were no door locks. You simply pulled the string from the outside, which lifted the primitive wooden latch, and in you went.

To conclude, a few quotations from the linguists. In general, Mencken's opinion was that 'the influence of Irish English upon American awaits serious investigation.'⁶⁵ There was, he sensed, little direct influence on vocabulary; possible suggestions include 'shillelagh', 'smithereens', and 'speakeasy'. More important 'may be certain Irish habits of pronunciation, syntax and grammar - in

⁶⁵ Mencken, *op. cit.*, New York 1974, 195.

part the fruit of efforts to translate the idioms of Gaelic into English, and in part survivals from the English of the age of James I.⁶⁶ Examples: *h'ist* for *hoist*, *bile* for *boil*, etc. He cites Gaelic influences in Irish/Hiberno-English, carried to America, as, for example, the placing of a definite article before nouns, as in the phrases, 'I am good at the Latin', and 'I had the measles.' (The latter expression was in my boyhood days in constant use in Pennsylvania.) Another habit he cites is the intensification of prefixes and suffixes, as in *yes indeedy*, *yes siree* and *no siree*, and *teetotal*. And he cites other vocabulary possibilities such as *shindig*, included in T. P. Dolan's *A Dictionary of Hiberno-English* (1998) meaning "commotion", 'row', 'a lively party,' and *skedaddle*, as in Wright's *The English Dialect Dictionary*, meaning to 'spill', 'scatter', 'to disperse in flight...'

It is interesting to compare Mencken's analysis with the more recent opinion of Raymond Hickey of the University of Essen. In his extremely useful volume *A Source Book for Irish English* (2002), in estimating the influence of Irish English on American English, he writes:

Given the large number of Irish settlers in the early United States the influence of Irish speech on American English would be expected to be considerable. However, this is not as simple a case as it might seem at first sight. The eighteenth-century settlers, mostly to the south-east of the later United States would appear to have had considerable influence although it is difficult to establish simple one-to-one correspondences even here...⁶⁷

This judgment credits the Scotch-Irish immigration of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century with pervasive influence, as I suggested earlier, but his emphasis on the Southern settlements - he means the Southern sections of Appalachia - neglects Pennsylvania which, in the eighteenth century, held the largest

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 195-6, 153.

⁶⁷ Raymond Hickey, *A Source Book for Irish English*, Amsterdam/Philadelphia 2002, 54. I must add a personal note of praise for this immensely useful work, adding that I covet a similar volume on Pennsylvania Dutch/Pennsylvania German linguistic bibliography.

Scotch-Irish settlements, estimated up to one-third of Pennsylvania's total population before 1800.

On the much larger nineteenth-century immigration of the Catholic Irish, Professor Hickey makes the statement: 'With the later nineteenth-century Famine immigrants there is practically no trace of their speech in the urban areas they settled in.'⁶⁸

Holidays (Customs of the Year)

In the American calendar of celebrations, the two most important Irish (and Scotch-Irish and Scottish) contributions are Hallowe'en - often called by Pennsylvanians 'Halloweve' - and St. Patrick's Day. I certainly participated in the Hallowe'en revelry when I was a boy. My sister and I 'dressed up' in costumes and masks. We had a fabulous 'dressup box' in the attic with all sorts of costume-combinations, and went around to the neighbours' houses to see if they could guess who we were. (They always did, of course, after some humorous jockeying around.) At other times we joined groups of moderately 'deilish' kids to roam the neighbourhood with bags of corn grains (maize), which we threw against doors and windows, then scurried away to the next house. Today, the children's visits to neighbours' houses, usually decorously and prudently accompanied by a parent, involve the term 'trick or treat',⁶⁹

In my mother's day, in the farming country of Central Pennsylvania, the teenagers who roamed the countryside on Hallowe'en were much more destructive. One of the favourite occupations on that night was to proceed from farm to farm, upsetting the outhouses (privies). And I have ethnographic notes on the even more bizarre Hallowe'en trick of taking a buggy apart and

⁶⁸ *Ibid., loc. cit.* According to Hickey, a possible exception may be 'the open short o found in Boston'.

⁶⁹ See Jack Santino, 'Halloween', in Jan Harold Brunvand, (ed.), *American Folklore: An Encyclopedia*, New York 1996, 359-61. For fuller details see Jack Santino, *Halloween and Other Festivals of Death and Life*, Knoxville, Tennessee 1994. Useful in general also is the same author's *All Around the Year: Holidays and Celebrations in American Life*, Urbana, Illinois 1994. For Ireland, see Kevin Danaher, *The Year in Ireland*, Cork 1977, and Patricia Lysaght, 'Hallowe'en in Ireland: Continuity and Change', in *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* 97. Jahrgang 2001/11, 189-200.

lifting it to the barn or shed roof, where it was reassembled to greet the rising sun of 1 November. And of course the boys who performed this rare treat dutifully took it down and replaced it in the barn or carriage house the next day, and all was forgiven.

The Pennsylvania Dutch, however, did not really celebrate Hallowe'en - at least they did not wear masks on that holiday. But they *did* mask on Second Christmas (the day after Christmas Day), and on New Year's Day. Our German newspapers used to advertise masks for these holidays and not for the end of October festival.⁷⁰

March 17 as St. Patrick's Day is almost universally celebrated today in the United States, and, of course, in Pennsylvania as well. One sees green everywhere, and parades, parties, and special meals are featured. Among the Pennsylvania Dutch, in the past, however, March 17 was known as St. Gertrude's Day. This referred to the St. Gertrude who was the patron saint of gardening in the Rhineland, and the date was associated with the first planting or digging in our kitchen gardens.⁷¹ It was also associated with the gathering of greens (dandelions) out in the fields, which we eat as a Pennsylvania Dutch hot salad. The dandelion leaves, pulled apart and washed, are wilted by pouring hot sweet-sour bacon dressing over the top. They are not cooked, otherwise they would taste like hay. In this hot salad technique they remain crisp, just slightly

⁷⁰ On the masking practices of the Pennsylvania Dutch, see Alfred L. Shoemaker, *Christmas in Pennsylvania: A Folk Cultural Study*, second revised edition with New Foreword and Afterword by Don Yoder, Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania 1999. See also by Alfred L. Shoemaker the second revised edition of *Eastertide in Pennsylvania*, with New Foreword and Afterword by Don Yoder, Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania 2000.

⁷¹ A meticulously-researched regional study is: Bernhard Schemmel, *Sankt Gertrud in Franken: Sekundäre Legendenbildung an Kultstätten*, Würzburg 1968, Sonderdruck aus: *Würzburger Diözesangeschichtsblätter* XXX (1968). See pp. 26-37 for St. Gertrude's connection with the Carolingian dynasty. She died as abbess of the Cloister of Nivelles (Nijvel), Brabant, on St. Patrick's day, 17 March, 659 A. D. St. Gertrude of Nivelles, whose feast day is 17 March, appears to have had connections with the Irish monastic system and, according to Ludwig Bieler, the day of St. Patrick's death is first recorded in her seventh-century *Life*. See the *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (henceforth *NCE*) New York 1967, vol. VI, 451. According to Erich and Beitl, *op. cit.*, 276-7, who discuss St. Gertrude's career as abbess in Brabant in the seventh century A.D., and call her a 'beloved herald of spring', and the 'first gardener', veneration of the saint, which was widespread in the Netherlands and northern Germany, was brought by Irish missionaries to the Tyrol.

wilted, and are eaten with boiled potatoes.⁷² In Pennsylvania Dutch, dandelion is called by the somewhat inelegant word *Pissabett*, which is no more inelegant than French *pis-en-lit*, or English ‘piss-a-bed’. After all, dandelion is a diuretic. Many folk foods originally had medical natures and purposes.

The elaborate church year of the Pennsylvania Germans, the special days listed in our old German almanacs, included several important Irish influences. One of these was *Galledag*, or St. Gall’s Day, October 16, remembered by older Pennsylvania Dutchmen like my father. St. Gall was the Irish monk who founded the famous abbey at St. Gall in Switzerland in 612 A.D. He was part of the great Irish missionary thrust into Germany, Switzerland, and Austria in the seventh century, when the Irish bore the torch of the Christian faith when it was flickering on the Continent.⁷³

Another Irishman who was remembered by the Pennsylvania Dutch was Kilian, the patron saint of Franconia, now Northern Bavaria, and of the scenic city of Wurzburg, called the ‘German Rome’ from its many handsome churches.⁷⁴ We do not remember and celebrate St. Kilian’s feastday on July 8, but many early Pennsylvania Dutchmen, especially in the immigrant generation, bore the name Kilian. The name is now archaic among us, nearly forgotten, and has not been revived in recent years, like Julian, Justin, and other favourite boys’ names.

One other example: A once favourite girl’s name among the Pennsylvania Dutch was Brigitta. My father’s grandmother was named Brigitta. She was born in 1822 and died in 1900. When her memory surfaces in our family, she is affectionately called ‘die

⁷² For the origin of the hot salad in Germanic cuisine, see Giinter Wiegelmann, ‘Warmer Salat’, in *Alltags- und Festspeisen in Mitteleuropa. Innovationen, Strukturen und Regionen vom späten Mittelalter bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*, 2., erw. Aufl. u. Mitarb. v. Barbara Krug-Richter, Munster u.a.: Waxmann, 2002, vgl. § 159; S. 231 u. Anm. 21. (Miinsteraner Schriften zur Volkskunde / Europaischen Ethnologie 11).

⁷³ For St. Gall, see *NCE*, vol. VI, 64-5, and Erich and Beitl, *op. cit.*, 248-9. For the Lives of St. Gall (eighth and ninth centuries A. D.), see James F. Kenney, *The Sources for the Early History of Ireland: Ecclesiastical*, New York 1929, 206-8.

⁷⁴ For St. Kilian of Wurzburg, see *NCE*, vol. VIII, 168-9. See also Kenney, *op. cit.*, 512-13.

Brichie.' The Pennsylvania Dutch abbreviate everything, and nickname everyone, even their grandmothers! The name undoubtedly harks back to the Irish Brigid (St. Bride and the Celtic goddess before that - see Proinsias MacCana, *Celtic Mythology*, London 1970, 34-5, 95, 131), although the immediate source was the Swedish St. Birgitta who had all those curious visions of Christmas lore.⁷⁵

In light of St. Patrick's popularity in Germanic Central Europe, where he was a protector of horses and performed other folk duties, (*NCE*, Vol. X, 1101; Erich and Beitl, *op. cit.*, 635) it is strange that his name was not used as a boy's Christian name among the Pennsylvania Dutch. It is probable that they may have considered it too Irish, too foreign, for the average Dutchman. The name Patrick is, however, highly popular today as a boy's name all over the United States.

Lastly in customs of the year, let us take a brief look at Candlemas (February 2), which in Pennsylvania is called 'Groundhog Day.' Only our Catholic and High Anglican churches do anything with candles anymore on that day. For the Pennsylvania Dutch it is a secular fun holiday, which I will explain.

In Pennsylvania the day is a weather-predicting day. It is obviously linked with February 1 in the ancient Celtic year, marking the beginning of the second half of the dark half of the year (MacCana, *op. cit.*, 126), which I always delighted to explain to my folklife classes. On this day the humble groundhog comes out of his burrow, where he has hibernated like a bear since November. (It would be nice if we could pinpoint it to November 1, but we

⁷⁵ For the Swedish visionary St. Brigitta or Birgitta (d. 1373), with her eight books of revelations, and feast day on October 8, see Erich and Beitl, *op. cit.*, 110. For St. Brigid of Ireland, whose feast day is February 1, see *NCE*, Vol. II, 617. For further sources, see also Kenney, *op. cit.*, 187. Curiously enough, the Swedish St. Brigitta is linked with Sts. Mathilda and Elizabeth in occult literature in Germanic Europe and Pennsylvania, and all three names appear on the Italian 'Himmelsbrief', *L'Unica vera Lettera di Gesu Cristo*. My copy, bought in Philadelphia, was published in Italy on one sheet, front and back, sometime during the pontificate of Leo XIII (1878-1903). The verso contains accounts of miracles alleged to have resulted from the application of the Letter. For a reproduction, see Phyllis H. Williams, *South Italian Folkways in Europe and America: A Handbook for Social Workers, Visiting Nurses, School Teachers, and Physicians*, New Haven, Connecticut 1938.

cannot.) If he sees his shadow, i.e., if the sun is out, there will be six more weeks of winter. If it is dark or rainy or cloudy, he will not see his shadow, hence there will be an early spring. This is an increasingly popular holiday and tongue-in-cheek folk belief in Pennsylvania, whence it has spread widely throughout the United States and Canada as a joyous, secular celebration, in the calendric doldrums between New Year's and Easter. For full details, see my recent book, *Groundhog Day*.⁷⁶

The Irish and the Dutch

Pennsylvania has always been an ethnic and cultural ‘crazy quilt’ - a quilt pieced together of irregular patches without regard to an overall pattern. In the eighteenth century, through Penn’s invitation to the persecuted and disadvantaged religious groups of the Rhineland, England, Wales and Ireland - the Pennsylvania population was divided into three main groups: the English and Welsh, dominated by the Quakers but with significant Anglican, Baptist, and other minorities; the Pennsylvania Dutch or Pennsylvania Germans; and the Irish, mostly Ulster Protestants or Scotch-Irish. The theme of the inter-ethnic relations between the Irish and the Dutch penetrates colonial social and political history, and even reaches down into Pennsylvania folklore, as in the children’s rhyme:

God made the Irish
And the Devil made the Dutch
But when he made the Irish
He didn’t make much.⁷⁷

So let us take a look at the love-hate relationship between these two immigrant groups. They appear to have disliked each other - an understatement - and they usually voted against each other’s parties in local elections. To vote in the eighteenth century, Pennsylvanians,

⁷⁶ For the complex history of Groundhog Day, with its roots in Germanic and Celtic tradition, see Don Yoder, *Groundhog Day*, Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania 2003.

⁷⁷ This is a children’s rhyme from Pennsylvania’s anthracite region. There are others, like this one, for example, weighted in favour of the Dutch: ‘If you ain’t Dutch - you sure ain’t much!’

only men and only property-holders, had to ride horseback or wagon to the county seat, where the actual voting took place, at the county courthouse. The taverns were open and the voters usually imbibed freely. Very often violence, fights, and cursing matches ensued. (Today, because of this, our liquor stores are all closed on election day.) There were actually riots between the Irish and the Dutch voters in several county towns in the 1740s and 1750s.⁷⁸

As late as 1798 a Scottish schoolmaster in Pennsylvania wrote in a letter to his father in Scotland, that 'the very sound of an Irishman's voice will make a Dutchman draw down his eyebrows, gather up his pockets, and shrink into himself like a tortoise.'⁷⁹

In the same decade (1792) a more irenic statement was made in a newspaper editorial calling for amity between the two groups:

[I] offer some observations on a dangerous prejudice, which has been actually fomented by a few designing men - I mean the distinction of *Dutch* and *Irish* - a distinction calculated to convulse our County - to raise and perpetuate national reflections, and to separate in interests and sentiments the nearest neighbors.

What is it to me, when I am about to vote, whether the great grandmother of the candidate came from Germany or from Ireland - from the banks of the Rhine, or the Lake of Calarney [sic]- whether he and his ancestors have dined oftenest on cabbage or potatoes?... I don't think one of those vegetables more calculated to make an honest man or a rogue than the other. All national prejudices are the growth of a contracted mind or silly head - it raises a distinction which destroys all enquiry into the merit of a candidate.⁸⁰

I could cite other statements equally revealing, but will close this section of my presentation by telling you that in time the rivalry and mutual distaste faded away, the Dutch and Irish began to intermarry and a truce was reached (See Plate 17).

⁷⁸ For the inter-ethnic rivalry in the colonial period that produced election-day riots, see John Gibson, *History of York County, Pennsylvania: From the Earliest Period to the Present Day*, Chicago 1886, 309-10.

⁷⁹ Alexander Wilson, ornithologist and poet, was teaching school in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, when he wrote this letter. See Don Yoder, 'The Irish and the Dutch', *The Pennsylvania Dutchman* 11:3(June 1, 1950), 6.

⁸⁰ James T. Lemon, *The Best Poor Man's Country: A Geographical Study of Early Southeastern Pennsylvania*, Baltimore, Maryland 1972, 18. The quotation is from a York newspaper, the *Pennsylvania Herald*, for 3 October, 1792.



Plate 17: Trexlertown was, in 1878, a thoroughly Pennsylvania Dutch town. In that year, it put on a 'Grand Dramatic Entertainment' featuring three ethnic skits - 'Black Ole Bull', 'That Rascal Pat', and 'The Persecuted Dutchman'. All the players bore Pennsylvanian Dutch names, (Roughwood Collection).

On another tack, the word ‘Irish’ was used by the majority of the Pennsylvania Dutch for persons or things that were not Dutch. My father grew up using the term ‘*en EirischeE*’ (‘an Irishman’) for a non-Pennsylvania Dutchman.⁸¹ There was even a somewhat crude reference to this in an expression that my father told me - as used in his earlier days. When a person had to ‘go out back’ of the farmhouse to the privy - for which we have good Anglo-Saxon words, I assure you - a coarse saying, humorous in intent, was this: ‘*Ich muss nausgeh un en Eirischer leddere*’ - ‘I have to go out back and beat up an Irishman.’

More dignified Pennsylvanians used to use the euphemism for going to the privy - ‘I have to go out back and see Aunt Sally.’ One wonders if this mythical Aunt Sally was already there, since we had privies that we called ‘two-holers’ and privies that we called ‘three-

⁸¹ This usage is illustrated in an 1816 court case in Philadelphia. In 1815 there was a ‘riot’ involving two parties in Philadelphia’s German Lutheran St. Michael’s and Zion’s Parish. At issue was the demand for the introduction of English church services. The congregation divided into a ‘Dutch Party’ and an ‘English Party’. When the leader of the ‘English Party’ attempted to present a paper in favour of English services, there were shouts of ‘Pull the Irishman out!’ After which a free-for-all resulted, upsetting the burning cannon stove, and injuring several participants, in other words, a ‘riot’. A lawsuit followed.

After one hundred and thirty pages of testimony, the lawyer for the defence, Moses Levy, Esq., explained the term ‘Irishman’ in this context as ‘a term which, as generally understood, means a kind of man who knowing the German, is unwilling to talk it, who is ashamed of his own language, and is unacquainted with any other.’ To which the presiding judge, His Honor Jasper Yeates, added, ‘It means any other countryman than a German.’ The two hundred and forty pages of testimony, published in 1817, resulted in Judge Yeates’s joining the ‘calm and temperate decision of the jury’ in proving the ‘German party’ verdict ‘GUILTY! See: James Carson, compiler, *Trial of Frederick Eberle and Others, At a Nisi Prius Court, Held at Philadelphia, July 1816 Before the Honorable Jasper Yeates, Justice, For Illegally Conspiring Together by All Means Lawful and Unlawful, “With their Bodies and Lives”, To Prevent the Introduction of the English Language into the Service of St. Michael’s and Zion’s Churches, Belonging to the German Lutheran Congregation, in the City of Philadelphia. Taken in Short Hand by James Carson, Attorney at Law, Philadelphia, Published for the Reporter, 1817, 14, 134, 213.*

The term ‘*Eirisch-Deutsche*’ (‘Irish Germans’) in the sense of Pennsylvanians of German tongue who were losing their German in favour of English, was used by J. Ernst Ludwig Brauns in his book, *Practische Belehrungen und Rathschilde fur Reisende und Auswanderer nach Amerika*, Braunschweig 1829. The term is used in the chapter, ‘Wird die deutsche Sprache in Amerika bestehen oder untergehen’, 210-22. Brauns had lived in America for several years, serving as a Lutheran minister.

holers', the third lower hole for a child accompanying one or even two adults. There was certainly a different sense of privacy then.⁸²

The theme of ethnic rivalry between Pennsylvania's Irishmen and Dutchmen is included in a chapter in the delightful travel book by the Irish actor Tyrone Power (1797-1841), a native of County Waterford, who turns out to be the great-grandfather of the movie star Tyrone Power.⁸³ From 1826 onwards he was a success as an Irish comedian on the London stage, where, according to his biographer, he was 'best in representations of blundering, good-natured, and eccentric Irish characters...' In 1833-5, 1837-8, and again in 1840-1, he made extensive theatrical tours of America, all immensely successful.

Alas, after his last American tour, he died at sea on his way back to England on the ill-fated ship 'President', which sank in a storm in March 1841.

In his charming travel book, *Impressions of America, During the Years 1833, 1834 and 1835*, published in 1836, he has some amusing things to say about 'The Dutch and Irish Colonies of Pennsylvania'.⁸⁴ One of his points must here suffice, his comparison of the public personae of the children of the two groups:

The inherent difference between the two people is never more strikingly perceived than when you have occasion to make any inquiry whilst passing through their villages. Pull up your horse by a group of little Dutchmen, in order to learn your way or ask any information, and the chance is they either run away, "upon instinct", or are screamed at to come within doors by their prudent mothers; upon which cry they scatter, like scared rabbits, for the warren...

⁸² The classic treatment of the privy in rural Pennsylvania is: Amos Long Jr., 'Outdoor Privies in the Dutch Country', *Pennsylvania Folklife* XIII:3 (July 1963), 33-8, complete with exterior and interior photographs, and amusing anecdotes. The classic description of this phenomenon in Pennsylvania Dutch verse is the lengthy poem, printed in broadside form, by John Birmelin, 'S Heisel im Hof - ('The Little House in the Yard.')

⁸³ The movie star was Tyrone Power (1914-1958), for whose biography see ANB XVII, 789-90. He was a great grandson of the author of the travel book (see next note).

⁸⁴ Tyrone Power, *Impressions of America, During the Years 1833, 1834, and 1835*, London 1836, 181-7. I republished his chapter, 'The Dutch and Irish Colonies of Pennsylvania' in *Pennsylvania Folklife* XV:4 (Summer 1966), 52.

On the other hand, enter an Irish village, and by any chance see the young villains precipitated out of the common school: call to one of these, and a dozen will be under your horse's feet in a moment; prompt in their replies, even if ignorant of what you seek to learn; and ready and willing to show you any place or road they know anything, or nothing, about. I have frequently on these occasions, when asked to walk into their cabin by the old people, on hearing their accent, and seeing myself thus surrounded, almost doubted my being in Pennsylvania...

One final research problem. In the history of farming in Pennsylvania, the myth has persisted that the Scotch-Irish were not as skilled in farming techniques or as 'neat' in their farmsteads as the Pennsylvania Dutch. Benjamin Rush (1745-1813), Philadelphia physician and revolutionary patriot, is, unfortunately, one of the sources of this derogatory judgement.⁸⁵

In April, 1784, in the journal of his trip to Carlisle to attend the initial meeting of the trustees of Dickinson College, which he had been instrumental in organising the previous year, he compares the two ethnic groups as to farming skill and farmstead neatness:

The farms on the [Susquehanna] River are owned chiefly by Germans, & bear all the marks of the industry of those people. A few miles from the river we traced the marks of the Irish settlers — Houses without windows — Water wasting itself in the public roads instead of being drawn over fields so as to make a meadow — dead timber standing in forests in fields of grain — low or broken fences, & lean cattle.

His views were continued in a further passage:

The country over which we rode this day was equal in point of cultivation to any perhaps in the World. Stone houses & barns — large orchards — watered meadows — extensive fields of grain separated from each other with high fences many of which were of posts and rails every where presented themselves to our View. The contrast between these Settlements & the Irish Settlements in Cumberland and York Counties was very great. I have described the

⁸⁵ For Benjamin Rush, see ANB XIX, 72-5. The quotations are from L. H. Butterfield, (ed.), 'Dr. Benjamin Rush's Journal of a Trip to Carlisle in 1784, in *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* LXXIV (October 1950), 443-56.

latter formerly. One thing I omitted, & that is, near many of the houses in the Irish Settlements we saw *Still houses*. The quantity of Rye destroyed & of Whisky drank in these places is immense, & its effects upon their industry — health & morals are terrible. I was sorry to hear that the Germans in some places were beginning to be corrupted with it. — This is a poor reward to them for communicating their industry & arts in farming to the Irish which is the case in Donegal where many of them are as good and clean farmers as the Germans, & where they have acquired wealth, and influence. Mr Whitaker who keeps a brewery as well as a tavern told me that beer is becoming every year more fashionable in the Country, & that last year he sold 1000 barrels. Perhaps this excellent liquor may root out whisky from our country.

It is plain from the latter part of this statement that one source for Rush's derogatory comments about the Irish was the fact that he was anti-whiskey - Irish or otherwise. He was an American pioneer of the temperance movement, which in the nineteenth century was to capture many of the American Protestant denominations. In its early stages, however, it was not 'teetotalism' but was aimed only against 'hard liquor' - whiskey in particular - thus allowing for moderate consumption of beer and wine.

According to the cultural geographer, James T. Lemon, in his book *The Best Poor Man's Country*, there was not that much difference in the farming patterns of the Pennsylvania Dutch and their British Isles neighbours.⁸⁶ It is true, however, that in the nineteenth century the Scotch-Irish adopted from their ethnic neighbours such cultural innovations as the Pennsylvania Dutch (or Swiss) bank barn. These barns were usually built into a hill (hence 'bank'), with the warm protected basement for stables, and room above for hay mows, granary, and threshing floor. Also transferred was the Pennsylvania Dutch outdoor bake-oven for the weekly

⁸⁶ James T. Lemon, *The Best Poor Mans Country*, 1972, 18. The actual statement is: 'Certainly in the manner in which they occupied, organized, and used the land, members of national groups did not behave very differently from one another.' Lemon's conclusions were based on his meticulous comparison of the agriculture of Chester and Lancaster Counties, both ethnically mixed in different proportions. Chester had an English (mostly Quaker) majority with Pennsylvania Dutch and Scotch-Irish minorities, while in Lancaster the Dutch predominated, with English and Scotch-Irish minorities.

production of bread, pies, and cakes for the large farm families and their hired help. The hired help, by the way, sat at the table with the family and in fact were treated as full members of the household circle. There were no ‘servants’ dining rooms’ in Pennsylvania farmhouses.

‘The Accursed Mill’

Many of Pennsylvania’s folktales, legends and unusual historical chronicles have an Irish flavour about them. One of these certainly is the chronicle that I call ‘The Accursed Mill’, which first appeared in print in 1872 in a local history entitled *Annals of Phoenixville and Its Vicinity* by Samuel Whitaker Pennypacker, who later became governor of Pennsylvania.⁸⁷

In the pioneer period, in 1732, an Irish Quaker named James Starr built a log grist mill on the site of the present town of Phoenixville, up the Schuylkill River from Philadelphia. James and Moses Starr, sons of the builder, carried on the milling business until they decided to rent the mill to a Welshman named Rowland Richards.

Richards cut with an axe, upon the trees along this path, in rude characters “R.R.M.” to indicate to travellers the way to “Rowland Richard’s Mill”. He became very intemperate, and, as a consequence, his wife was compelled to attend to the business as well as look after the household. Her family was large and, as time elapsed and matters grew worse, she was unable, with all her industry, to obtain a livelihood. Finally, the sheriff of the county seized upon all of their property, and she, with her children and drunken husband, was driven from her home. With a woman’s warmth of feeling, and regarding the creditors and officers of the law as the oppressors of her family, she fell upon her knees by the roadside and with her little ones clustered about her, called upon God to curse those who had driven her forth and the mill, that man might never prosper in its possession. Whether prayers of this kind are ever answered my readers must judge for themselves, but, certain it is, as the sequel will show, that no piece of property was ever more unfortunate than this mill.

⁸⁷ Samuel Whitaker Pennypacker (1843-1916) was governor of Pennsylvania, 1903-1907. For his biography, see *Dictionary of American Biography* XIV, 447, and his personal account, *The Autobiography of a Pennsylvanian*, Philadelphia 1918. For the complete title of his Phoenixville history, see note 39.

The curse evidently stayed in operation, for the mill was again sold by the sheriff in 1754, and again in 1756. This time a Quaker named George Ashbridge bought it, but he sold it again to the Coateses (an Irish Quaker family) in 1760, and they sold it to John Longstreth, who reconstructed the mill in 1785. Benjamin Longstreth added a sawmill and an iron mill for rolling and slitting iron, the forerunner of the Phoenix Iron Company from which the town of Phoenixville derived its name.

But Longstreth, like most of his predecessors, came to disaster. Three times his milldam was destroyed, and the second time the rolling and slitting mill was washed away. After several more disasters including the owner's wife falling from a wall breaking her neck, his successors lost the property to a sheriff sale in 1802 and it was bought by James McClintock. Skipping over other changes of ownership until 1837, we again turn to Pennypacker's account. In that year flour milling was given up in favour of the iron business, and the old mill was converted into a dwelling for four families. So here is the final act in the tragedy of 'The Accursed Mill' :

The winter of 1838-9 was a very severe one, and through the months of November and December the snow had accumulated upon the hill tops in great quantities, and the ice in the streams was of unusual thickness. In the latter part of January, the weather moderated, and on the 26th of that month a warm rain commenced and continued through the whole of the day and the succeeding night. The next morning, the French Creek was much swollen from the rain and melted snow, and it began to be feared that the ice upon the dam would be loosened from the banks. There were living, at the time, in the "Old Mill," all unconscious of the doom impending over the accursed structure, Elias Day, his wife and several children, and Henry O'Brien and Susan O'Brien, who were brother and sister. The fears of the wife and mother were awakened, and having carried her children to some neighboring house for safety, she returned to persuade her husband to follow. Blind to his fate he refused, and while she stood there pleading, suddenly, with a mighty crash and roar, the ice, broken into immense cakes and blended with rails, logs and debris, which had been gathered by the torrent in its course, came crushing through the head-gates of the canal and swept angrily around the "Mill." After an existence of over a hundred years, during which blight and ruin had fallen upon nearly all connected with it, the

end had come. Susan O'Brien crept out upon a window ledge in the second story, and while there some of the villagers threw to her one end of a rope from the bank above. She fastened it about her person and, waiting until the "Mill" was broken into fragments beneath her, was then dragged through the ice to the shore. Though senseless, mangled and bruised, she revived, but it was only to meet with a violent death finally. Henry O'Brien, who was a powerful man, made a desperate struggle for his life, and had almost succeeded in reaching the shore when the current swept him away. Elias Day was carried among the cakes of ice down the creek to its mouth, and from there as far as the island in the Schuylkill, where he caught fast upon a buttonwood tree and clung shrieking for an assistance it was impossible to render. His cries were heard from about eleven o'clock in the morning until after dark, and then, benumbed from the cold and worn out by useless exertions, the poor wretch dropped into the river and disappeared forever. When the waters had subsided, it was discovered that not a stone of the "Old Mill" remained, and beneath where it stood a hole had been torn fourteen feet deep. With this awful occurrence, the curse, heaped upon it so long before, seems to have terminated, for since that time the works with which it was associated have known an almost continuous prosperity.

This magnificent and gripping narrative is, of course, historical in nature, since the land transfers and sheriff sales of the property can be documented in the county land records. Yet the details of the curse itself certainly shade over into the province of folklore. We are told by European folklorists that a mother's curse is more powerful than many others. And this was a mother's curse - the poor distraught woman gathered her children about her, knelt on the ground, and let loose.⁸⁸ The story, when it reached Pennypacker, and was written down by his fluent pen, does not include one detail

⁸⁸For the perceived power of a mother's curse, see '*Fluch*' in Erich and Beitl, *op. cit.*, 225. A detailed discussion of the curse and the process of cursing can be found under 'FZwc/z' in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, 1987 reprint edition, vol. II, columns 1636-52. For the American evidence, see Timothy B. Jay, *Cursing in America*, Philadelphia 1992. For England, see Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century England*, Harmondsworth 1978, 599-610. For Ireland (in the context of stories about evictions during the Great Famine 1845-50), see Patricia Lysaght, 'Women During the Great Irish Famine from the Oral Tradition', *Bealoideas* 64-5 (1996-7), 121-5, and 'Women and the Great Famine: Vignettes from the Irish Oral Tradition', in

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that I wish it had included. Did the woman let her hair down when she knelt on the ground and cursed? I would hope that she did so, for that would, without a doubt, have made her procedure into an authentic, traditional, and one could say iconic Irish curse.

Conclusion

Finally, as a friendly fare-thee-well, let me just outline my own personal contacts with Irish personnel in Philadelphia and at my hometown of Devon. At the University of Pennsylvania, where I taught for forty years (1956-1996), I had many contacts with Ireland through my students' backgrounds and research projects. There were amongst them the memorable Mick Maloney, a native of Limerick whose songs have found international resonance; James M. Duffin, brilliant archivist of the university who visits cousins in County Antrim; Roslyn Blyn-Ladrew, who now teaches Irish Language courses at the University; and last, but not least, the charismatic Henry Glassie, whose classic treatments of Irish rural life in *Passing the Time in Ballymenone* (1982, 1995), and *The Stars of Ballymenone* (2006),⁸⁹ have received international acclaim.

At Devon our postmistress, Sally Trier, has an Irish mother named Tiernan, whose roots are in County Leitrim; her assistant is the jovial Bill Doyle; Jack Fitzgerald often pumps my gas at his Sunoco Station; among my bankers are two named Murphy and Hennessey; and my barber, Frank Cassidy, is a native of County Galway.

I could go on - and on - but will appropriately close here, wishing all of you-uns a hearty and heartfelt Pennsylvanian *fare-ye-well*.

⁸⁹ *Passing the Time in Ballymenone. Culture and History of an Ulster Community*, Philadelphia 1982; Bloomington, Indiana 1995; *The Stars of Ballymenone*, Bloomington and Indianapolis 2006.

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Arthur Gribben (ed.), *The Great Famine and the Irish Diaspora in America*, Amherst, 1999, 39-44. In a non-famine context, stories of ritual cursing by women are also strongly associated with eviction. For the perceived power of the widow's curse in Irish folk belief, see Patricia Lysaght, 'Is Mairg a Thuillean Mallacht Bhaintrf ('Woe to Him who Earns the Widow's Curse'), *Sinsear* 8 (1995), 101-10. (Student occasional folklore journal, Irish Folklore, University College Dublin).